

A RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION AT SARDES

Abstract: An inscription at Sardes, carved in the second century AD, preserves a dedication of a statue by an Achaemenid governor (fifth or fourth century BC) and two unusual injunctions banning the *therapeutai* who tend the statue from participating in mysteries of Sabazius, Agdistis, and Ma. The paper argues that the two injunctions date from Roman Imperial times, the privileged *therapeutai* reacting against cults that they regarded as novel and exotic.

An inscription at Sardes, discovered in 1974 on a building block that was not in situ, offers a text on sacred matters, engraved by a single hand in the second century AD.¹ Of its three sentences, the first is a dedication of a statue, dating originally from Achaemenid times; the second and third bar some cult officials from participation in certain rites:

- ἐτέων τριήκοντα ἐννέα Ἄρτα-
ξέρξεω βασιλεύοντος, τὸν ἀν-
δριάντα Δροαφέρνης
4 Βαρ<ά>κεω Λυδῆς ὕπαρχος Βαρα-
δατεω Δίι. ☩ προστάσσει τοῖς
εἰσπορευομένοις εἰς τὸ ἄδυ-
τον νεωκόροις θεραπευ-
8 ταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ στεφανοῦσι τὸν θε-
ὸν μὴ μετέχειν μυστηρίων Σαβα-
ζίου τῶν τὰ ἐνπυρα βασταζόν-
των καὶ Ἀνγδίστεως καὶ Μᾶς, προσ-
12 τάσσουσι δὲ Δορατῇ τῷ νεωκόρῳ τού-
των τῶν μυστηρίων ἀπέχεσθαι. ☩

4 ΒΑΡΑΚΕΩ *lapis*

In year 39 of Artaxerxes as king, Droaphernes son of Barakes, governor of Lydia, (dedicated) the statue to *Baradateo* Zeus. He orders that his temple-warden devotees who enter the inner sanctum and crown the god are not to share in mysteries of Sabazius of the censor-bearers(?),² or of Agdistis, or of Ma. They order Dorates the temple-warden to abstain from these mysteries.

¹ Robert (1975), with photograph of squeeze [SEG XXIX 1205; G.H.R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* I, no. 3; E. Lane, *Corpus cultus Iovis Sabazii*, no. 31; M.J. Vermaseren, *Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, no. 456; Paz de Hoz (1999) 130, no. 2.1; F. Canali de Rossi, *I. Estremo oriente* 235]; Briant (1998), from autopsy, with photographs.

² Or 'carriers of burnt offerings'. For 'censors' see Sokolowski (1979); followed by Jones (1990) 55, who urges the same meaning in a text dated to AD 155.

The Achaemenid dedication derives from the 420s or the 360s BC (Artaxerxes I or II), copied now in Roman times.³ Robert took the second sentence to be contemporary with the first, continuing it, but the third to be later, perhaps contemporary with the stone itself (II AD). The importance of the inscription was spelled out by Robert with great clarity. His account of the matter was that *Βαραδαταῖος* is Zeus ‘law-giver’, a statue of Ahura Mazda. The dedication reveals a weakening of the Zoroastrian prohibition of religious imagery. The exclusion from some Anatolian cults represents an effort by a Persian governor to prevent the local Persian elite from going native.

This account has been challenged in two important contributions. Gschnitzer argued that *Βαραδατεω* is not a Roman-era grapheme for *Βαραδαταῖω* but a correct Ionic genitive *Βαραδατέω*, ‘Zeus of Baradates’.⁴ On the analogy of later instances of such genitives in Anatolian cults, he held that this indicated a private and familial cult of Zeus, founded by someone named Baradates. The implication is that the god was not Ahura Mazda but Zeus, and the statue carries no implications for the history of Zoroastrianism.

Briant accepted this interpretation of *Baradateo* and the irrelevance of Zoroastrianism and offered a wider-ranging study.⁵ He argued that the second and third sentences, set off by leaves, are separate from the first. What was dedicated in the first sentence was an *andrias*, thus a statue of a human being, not of Zeus, so there is no religious content at all; the two religious injunctions that follow on the stone, different in genre from the dedication, are later acts, Hellenistic-Roman, and unrelated to the Achaemenid text: rather the stone contains a random compilation of old texts from the temple. The Achaemenid dedication was his focus, and he called for a separate study of the two religious injunctions.⁶

³ For the fourth-century date: Robert (1975); Chaumont (1990); Debord (1999) 367-374; Fried (2004) 129-137. Fifth century: M. Weiskopf in: Hanfmann (1983) 256 n. 10. Briant (1998) leaves the question open. On the anomalous form of the date in line 1 see Thonemann (2009) 392-393.

⁴ Gschnitzer (1986); this has been widely followed, e.g. by Debord (1999) 367-374; Frei (1996) 24-26, 90-96.

⁵ Briant (1998); followed e.g. by Dussinberre (2003) 100, 118; but rejected by Debord (1999) 367-374 (who is followed by Fried (2004) 24-26), maintaining that all three sentences are contemporaneous and Achaemenid.

⁶ Briant (1998) 223 n. 45.

I argue here that the two injunctions are indeed later than the Achaemenid dedication, of Roman Imperial date, but that the three sentences are in fact related and all concern a statue of Zeus.

THE DEDICATION

Robert took the reasonable view that the first and second sentences were continuous: ‘he (dedicated)... he orders’. But Briant’s chronological separation of the two is necessary. We have two different genres of text, first the dedication and second the two prohibitions that are framed by good Roman leaves.⁷ The unexpressed verb of the first sentence would be understood as aorist, as was normal (typically ἀνέθηκεν when expressed); the two laws by contrast use the present tense. Moreover, to separate the two sacred laws, the second and third sentences, from each other creates difficulties. The two are parallel in structure, vocabulary, and intent. The expression ‘these mysteries’ in the third sentence was evidently felt to be a sufficient reference: it can only refer back to the second sentence, without which the third would be unintelligible. The stone as a whole derives from two texts, a dedication of Achaemenid date and a later pair of rulings about the *therapeutai*.

Briant held that an *andrias* must be of a person,⁸ so not a statue of Zeus, but a statue dedicated to Zeus. The Greek formulation is familiar: one dedicated (a statue of) a person to a god. But Briant had then to admit that the person honored and portrayed by the statue is not mentioned in the inscription.⁹ That would be astonishing.

To the contrary, we have clear examples of an *andrias* of a god. This was common enough in Roman times, as Robert noted, in Egypt and

⁷ Briant (1998) 211, recognized the leaf closing off the third sentence. In an inscription of Imperial date, a leaf divides Greek and Phrygian texts: Drew-Bear e.a. (2008) 109-110.

⁸ Briant (1998) 215-220. This was normal; in the authors note Cassius Dio’s conscientious ἀνδριάντας ... μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγάλματα of Antinous (29.11.4; cf. *IG* VII 2712.100-102). Debord (1999) 370, doubted the rigor of this vocabulary; but the basis for doubt is worth illustrating.

⁹ “The absence of the name of the person so represented does not seem to me to constitute a particularly impressive argument: a votive statue can be anonymous” (Briant (1998) 219, giving no example). For a statue like *I. Cret.* III III 23, Τ. Λάρκιος Κυδικλῆς τὸν θεῖον, we can deduce that uncle and nephew had the same name.

elsewhere.¹⁰ Late texts are perhaps poor support for an instance of Achaemenid date.¹¹ But at all dates one finds dedications of statues to gods in which, as in the Sardes inscription, the *andrias* is not defined by a genitive. Yet in these instances the statue is of the god, e.g.:

Astypalaea ca. 400 BC, Ἀνα[ξί]τιμος Εὐπόλι[ος] [τ]ῶι Ἀπόλ[λω]νι δεκάταν ἀνέθηκε τὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τὸν οἶκον κατασκευάσας (Peek, *I. Dorisch. Ins.* no. 89 (AbhLeipzig 62.1 (1969) 43)

Cyprus, early IV BC, [Βααλρωμος] ὁ Ἀβδιμίλκων τὸν ἀδργάταν τὸδε κατέστασε... τῷ Ἀπόλωνι τῷ Ἀμύκλῳ (Masson, *ICS* 220 = *Kition/Bamboula* V T69)

Cimmerian Bosphorus, Hellenistic, Λεύκων Παιρισάδου ἀνέθηκε τὸν ἀνδριάντα Ἀπόλλωνι [Ἰ]ητρῶ[ι] ἱερησάμενος and Κάλλων Κάλλωνος [ἱερ]ησάμενος ἀνέθηκεν τὸν [ἀν]δριάντα Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰητρῶι (*CIRB* 25, 1044)

Thera, Hellenistic, two brothers Καρτίνικος Ἄνθης Θεάνορος τὸν ἀνδριάντα Διονύσῳ (*IG* XII.3 419)

Egypt, late Hellenistic, Ἑρμοῦθει θεᾷ μεγίστη καὶ Ἀνύβι θεῷ μεγάλῳ τὸν ἀνδ[ρ]ιάντ[α] Πυθιάδ[η]ς in behalf of himself and his wife and children (*I. Fayoum* III 160)

Roman Lycia, three *agoranomoi* of Bubo, upon leaving office, κατεσκεύασαν τὸν ἀτριάντα... μεγίστῳ θεῷ Ἄρει καθὼς ὑπέσχοντο (F. Schindler, *I. Bubon* 4, cf. 3 = C. Kokkinia, *Boubon (Meletemata* 60), Athens 2008, nos. 71, 72).

The natural reading of such texts is that the *andrias* portrayed the god named in the dative, and not an unnamed person, or the human dedicators themselves. The sentence structure is the same when ἄγαλμα is

¹⁰ Robert (1975) 313, cited *MAMA* IV 275A τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ ἀλεξικάκου Ἀπόλλωνος (Dionysopolis, AD 275); see also e.g. *I. Hadrianoi* 11 τοῦ Διὸς τὸν ἀνδριάντα; Diod. 20.14.6 ἀνδριάς Κρόνου χαλκοῦς (Tyre). In Egypt: *IGR* I 1051 τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος, *OGIS* 708 τοῦ Πολιέως Σαράπιδος (both Alexandria); *IGR* I 1136 Σούχου μεγάλου; E. Bernand, *I. métriques* 106 ἀνδρειᾶς μὲν ὅδ' ἐστι Διός; cf. Amm. Marc. 17.4.21 τῶν θεῶν ἀνδριάντας ἀνέθηκεν. *Agalma* of a human: e.g. *I. Ankara* 115.19 (A.D. 150-175).

¹¹ The Colossus of the Naxians, cited by Robert (1975) 313, has [τ]ῷ αὐτῷ λίθῳ ἐμὶ ἀνδριάς καὶ τὸ σφέλας (*I. Délos* 4; *LSAG* pl. 55). Briant (1998) 218 n. 27, invokes Hermay (1993) 11-27, as undermining the point; but Hermay, arguing that the extant statue is a late fifth century BC replacement, did not modify the substance or archaic date of the original inscription. This *andrias*, more than eight meters tall, did not portray a human being. This is the only instance of a god's *andrias* cited in *LSJ*. On the inscription see also Butz (2009).

used, with no genitive needed to identify the statue as the god's: e.g. Φιλαινου Θεογενεία ἱερεῖτεῦονσα τὸ ἄγαλμα Μαρτῖ Θεοῦν ἀνέθεικε (Phalanna, III BC: *ArchEph* (1916) 18 no. 271). For the interchangeability of the two terms, a locus classicus is Pindar, ἀνδριαντοποιός... ἐργάζεσθαι ἀγάλματα (*Nem.* 5.1-2; cf. Plut. *Luc.* 20.1 ἱεροὺς ἀνδριάντας). Droaphernes dedicated a statue of Zeus.

Zeus, however, still presents a problem. *Baradateo* has not been convincingly explained.¹² If with Robert we take the word as a divine epithet, Zeus 'Law-giver',¹³ the word order is abnormal. Robert (1975: 313) gave examples of the uncommon sequence epithet-name; but for that sequence the article is usually required.¹⁴ If with Gschnitzer we see 'Zeus of Baradates', a family cult with Baradates understood as the man who founded the cult,¹⁵ this is a surprisingly early instance of a usage that first appears in inscriptions only in Imperial times.¹⁶ Strabo shows it at least by the Augustan period (Μῆν Φαρνάκου in Pontus, 12.3.31),¹⁷ and Gschnitzer would trace that cult to Achaemenid times. But for this usage also, the sequence genitive-nominative would be surprising.

These difficulties with the text lead me to imagine an extreme solution: that *Βαραδατέω* is a gloss. These are frequent enough in

¹² The Iranian origin of both this name and *Barakes* has been questioned: on *Baradates* see Frei (1996) 25, Chaumont (1990) 580-581, and Briant (1998) 214 n. 17. Paz de Hoz (1999) 177, proposed emending to *Bagadates*; so too Mitchell (2007) 158. *Barakes* in one of the Avroman parchments: Mayrhofer (1974) 209, who tentatively urged an Iranian root, tentatively followed by Briant (1998) 206 n. 3; earlier, however, Minns (1915) 44, called *Barakes* "perhaps Semitic", son of Μαῖφόρρης "probably Semitic", brother of Σωβήνης "perhaps Semitic".

¹³ The concept is obvious enough, whether Persian or Greek; at Sinope, Zeus is once hailed as δικαιοσύνης (*I. Sinope* 120, late Hellenistic), and this epithet was known to the authors (*CGF* VIII 586).

¹⁴ The omission sometimes occurs in magistrate titles (*Didyma* 252 προστάτης Διδυμέως Ἀπόλλωνος, 281 στεφανηφοροῦντος Διδυμέως Ἀπόλλωνος, *I. Sardis* 47 ἱερέα μεγίστου Πολιέως Διός; cf. eponymity of the sort ἐπὶ δημιουργοῦ, ἐπὶ κόσμου). An early instance in a dedication is ἑλλανίοι Διὶ on a jar rim (*IG* IV² 1056, early V BC).

¹⁵ This explanation of such genitives was first urged by von Gutschmid (1892) 497, and was confirmed by Keil & von Premerstein (1911) 104; explicit in the dedication *SEG* LVI 1434. Cf. Petzl (1994) 103; Versnel (2011) 64 n. 152.

¹⁶ To Gschnitzer's references add *SEG* XXX 622 (Thessalonica: Ζεὺς Διόνυσος Γονγύλου); Corsten (2003) 122 n. 46; van Bremen (2010).

¹⁷ Cf. the tantalizing reference to Διὶ Φαρναουα in Cappadocia (*SEG* LII 1464 ter.16, with Debord 2005).

manuscripts, but rare in inscriptions.¹⁸ The similarity of the two names in line 4 is suggestive.¹⁹ The stone offers a copy of a text, not the original. And the mason probably was not standing next to the Achaemenid stone as he carved his own, but had a copy of the old text written on papyrus (or whatever medium) — that is, we possess a copy of a copy. Imagine that the Achaemenid stone was hard to read and that on the papyrus copy the patronym was botched (as it is on the extant stone, ΒΑΡΑΚΕΩ); that this line ended with ὑπαρχος; and that a correction had been added in the margin of the papyrus, thus:

ΕΤΕΩΝΤΡΙΗΚΟΝΤΑΕΝΝΕΑ
ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΞΕΩΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ
ΤΟΝΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΔΡΟΑΦΕΡΝΗΣ
ΒΑΡΑΚΕΩΛΥΔΙΗΣΥΠΑΡΧΟΣ ΒΑΡΑΔΑΤΕΩ
ΔΙΙ

The mason misunderstood, and copied the whole fourth line, both the error at the beginning and the correction at the end. The original wording would then have been Δροαφέρνης Βαραδάτεω Λυδίας ὑπαρχος Δίι. This would be unexceptional as Greek and as a gesture: a Persian grandee, Droaphernes son of Baradates, dedicates a statue of Zeus. The strictures of Zoroastrianism against statues of gods are then irrelevant (as Gschnitzer and Briant argued). And the dedication offers no evidence for a private or family cult — it is simply a statue of Zeus.

But one can hardly press such a hypothetical proposal. It is not evident how ΑΔΑΤ might have come to be miswritten as ΑΚ. And if the father was instead *Ba<g>adates*, as has been urged, then the putative corrector perpetuated the error *Baradates*.

About the Achaemenid event, then, let us conclude only that what the Persian governor dedicated was a statue of Zeus. This is pertinent to the interpretation of the regulations that follow on the stone.

¹⁸ A parallel would be the Hipponium version of the much-copied ‘Orphic’ poem for the dead (photographs at Sacco (2001); for the text, Giannobile/Jordan (2008)): the third line ends ΚΥΠΑΡΙΣΟΣ Σ. The marginal sigma is a correction, intending that the proper ΚΥΠΑΡΙΣΣΟΣ be written; ΚΥΠΑΡΙΣΟΣ Σ was in the immediate archetype, which the copyist reproduced without comprehending the corrector’s intent. In the epigram G. Petzl, *I. Smyrna* 766.2 (II AD), Μέλητα ποταμόν, Boeckh saw that the extrametrical ποταμόν must be expelled, and Petzl (to whom I owe the reference) saw that it is a gloss. Cf. Herrmann & Malay (2007), no. 85 and p. 115; Petzl (2011) 53.

¹⁹ Gschnitzer (1986) 48, however, saw this as evidence that Droaphernes belonged to the family that founded the cult. But Chaumont (1990) 581, wondered whether there is some textual confusion in the two names.

THE PROHIBITIONS

The second and third sentences are of the same genre. But what is their relation to each other, and to the first sentence, the Achaemenid dedication? Robert reckoned that the second sentence derives from the same document as the dedication that precedes it on the stone, hence Achaemenid in date and origin, while the third is later. As Briant saw, the two prohibitions belong together and are post-Achaemenid. But if we give up Robert's date for the second sentence, we also give up his context and explanation (a governor trying to keep Persians from going native/Anatolian); and some other explanation is needed.

Robert considered the second and third sentences to be a summary rather than the original text.²⁰ Certainly they have been truncated, in that their subjects have been omitted by the copyist; αὐτοῦ in line 8, 'his *therapeutai*', implies that the god had been named earlier in the original text.²¹ But they can be called summary only in the sense that they are extracts.²² So far as we have them, these can be the exact words of the original.

Who gives orders about ritual propriety? A Persian provincial governor, as Robert thought, is conceivable. But the most frequently met authority is a god, through an oracle or a vision, as in the κατ' ἐπιταγήν / *iussu* so often seen in dedications.²³ The verb προστάσσειν is found of oracular responses; e.g., a poem at Delphi reported - - - Φοῖβος . . . προσέταξεν (*FD* III.1 560). It is used in the healing cults, concrete instructions from Asclepius: προσέταξε *I. Cret.* I xvii 7, 9, 11; cf. ἐκέλευσεν *IG* IV.1² 126.4; *Plut. Mor.* 999c. And gods forbid: ἀπαγορεύει ὁ θεός· μὴ [εἰ]σφέρειν (κτλ.) (*Lupu, NGSL* 4.7, Athens). But here this seems unlikely: τὸν θεὸν in the predicate of the sentence would seem to exclude the god as the subject of the sentence. The priest in charge of a cult can also give orders: προστάσσοντος τοῦ ἱερέως ἢ τοῦ ἀρχιβάκχου (*LSCG* 51.66,

²⁰ Robert (1975) 317: "these lines do not translate the authentic document; they summarize its substance".

²¹ Briant (1998) 22 n. 45, wishing to eliminate from the rulings any reference to Zeus, held that αὐτοῦ means 'here'; that would be otiose, and the other references to this cult group (see below) are explicit, οἱ τοῦ Διὸς θεραπευταί.

²² Frequent enough in inscriptions: from sacred laws, *I. Ephesos* 10 (II/III AD, κεφάλαιον νόμου πατρίου), two extracts with infinitives depending on some main verb that has been omitted; *LSAM* 12 (Pergamum: Hellenistic), beginning with δέ (as does *IGLSyrie* VII 4028D (K. Rigsby, *Asyria* 218), an extract from a civic decree).

²³ The corpus of *ex visu* inscriptions has been compiled by Renberg (2003).

Athens); ἐὰν δέ τις ἰέρεια πλείω τῶ[ν γεγραμμένων ἐν τῷ νόμῳ προστάσσει (*LSCG* 107.3, Ios); ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἐριθασέου π[ρ]οαγορεύει καὶ ἀπαγορεύει κτλ. (*LSCG* 37, Athens).²⁴ Or god and priest together: ἀπαγορεύει δὲ καὶ ἡ θεὸς κ[αὶ ὁ προφήτης] Καλλίστρατος μηθένα ὁ[ρ]γ[εῶνα κτλ. (*IG* II² 1289.9). So a divine commandment — if not uttered by the god then by his agent — might be the source of the two sentences. But this does not explain the shift from singular verb to plural in the last sentence (this objection would apply also to commands of Droaphernes).

Another possibility: in inscriptions as in the Attic orators,²⁵ what most often ‘orders’ (and in the enduring present tense) is the Law, singular or plural. Thus, of sacred matters, ὁ νόμος προστάττει (*SEG* II 9.5, a *thiasos* on Salamis); or κελεύει, on oversight of cult (*LSCG* 32.18) and in a decree of orgeones (*LSCG* 46.11);²⁶ and in secular rules, ὁ νόμος προστάσσει (Hellmann, *Choix d’inscriptions* 2.15: the Pergamene *astynomoi* law). The plural οἱ νόμοι προστάττουσι is common in contexts both religious (*SEG* XLIV 60.5, a *thiasos* of Bendis, Athens) and secular (*IG* II³ 359.14; XI.4 1052.9; II² 1008.72 ἀπαγορεύουσιν; V.1 1379.5-6 κελεύοντι; *I. Priene* 23.6 συντάσσουσιν). In the orators the subject can be omitted: Lys. 1.32, ἀνάγνωθι δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ... ἀκούετε, ὧ ἄνδρες, ὅτι κελεύει. Shifting between singular and plural is found in earnest declarations about the law. So in Isaeus 11: 11-13 ὁ νόμος δηλώσει — τῶν νόμων δεδοκότων, 23-25 ὁ νόμος — τῶν νόμων, 29-30-31 οὐ δίδωσι ὁ νόμος — τῶν νόμων — τοὺς νόμους. Accordingly, at Sardes, ‘the law/laws’ might be the missing subjects of both sentences.

Finally, it may be that the *neokoroi therapeutai*, or a committee of them,²⁷ decided that the law does not allow such participation, and then they signaled this finding to Dorates, whose behavior may have prompted the question. The original document might then have had the structure of

²⁴ See Hitch (2011) 122-124, on the inscribing of priestly exegeses.

²⁵ The orators’ argumentative citation of what the law demands: e.g., Isae. 10.2.13 (κελεύει), 12 (κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὃς οὐκ ἐᾷ); Demosthenes 23.63 (τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος); the new Hypereides (ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι: Tchermetska (2005) 2); Andoc. 1.110, 115-116. Cf. a reported law of Solon: ἐὰν μὴ ἀπαγορεύσῃ δημόσια γράμματα (*Dig.* 47.22.1 pr. 1). The expression ‘the law commands’ is frequent in the *Ath. Pol.*, indifferently singular or plural.

²⁶ Cf. *NGSL* 26.19 (Nacone); *IG* V.1 5.12, 16 (Sparta); *IG* XII.7 241.19 (Minoa); *I. Lampsakos* 9.35, 61.

²⁷ Cf. *I. Ephesos* 2, οἱ προήγοροι ὑπὲρ τῆς θεοῦ κατε[δι]κάσαντο.

a statement of their decision about the law followed by a statement of their prohibition in the present case, with the law the subject of the first extant verb and the *therapeutai* the subject of the second: e.g. (οἱ θεραπευταὶ/ἐκδικοί ἔκριναν ὅτι ὁ νόμος) προστάσσει... προστάσσουσι δὲ Δορατῇ τῷ νεωκόρῳ...

In sum, it is possible that the two prohibitions can have been quoted from a single original document as well as from two of different dates. On this reading, a question has arisen for this association: Can those who tend the statue of Zeus share in certain mysteries? Authority has been consulted, and the answer is: ‘The god/priest/law orders...’ Does this general finding apply to the *neokoros* Dorates? ‘The laws/the devotees order...’ I prefer to think that one text was the source of both sentences: if the question about these mystery cults had already been settled for the cult attendants and applied to all of them, why was there need to commemorate in stone an individual decision about Dorates? On this theory, the two sentences were copied from a single decree of the cult association, and the excerptor has extracted from it for his purpose the two injunctions that were announced in it — the general legal finding and then its application to the current question.

DATE AND CONTEXT

The date of these two prohibitions needs to be established independently of the Achaemenid statue.²⁸ Are there external controls on this question? Robert did not fail to see that this cult group has long been known. (a) They honored a prominent citizen of Sardes with a statue (*I. Sardis* 22):

οἱ τοῦ Διὸς θεραπευταὶ τῶν εἰς] τὸ ἄδυτον εἰσπορευομένων
καθιερώσαντες
ἐστεφάνωσαν Σωκράτην Πολεμαίου Παρδαλᾶν, τὸν πρῶτον τῆς
πόλεως,
διακείμενον ἐκ προγόνων πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβῶς.

The devotees of Zeus, of those who enter the inner sanctum, blessed and crowned Socrates Pardalas son of Polemaeus, first man of the city, by family tradition piously disposed toward the divine.

²⁸ The name Dorates is too rare to point to a date. The one other instance in *LGPV* is on a seal at Cyrene (Δοράτους), probably of the first century AD: Maddoli (1963-64) 129, no. 924.

As to the date, a man of this name was eponymous priest of Dea Roma (in *I. Sardis* 91); that usage, introduced after the beginning of Roman rule in 129 BC, was replaced by the *stephanephoros* around the mid-first century AD.²⁹ We do not expect to find someone called ὁ πρῶτος τῆς πόλεως before the Roman Empire.³⁰ (b) Another Socrates, or the same man,³¹ paid for a temple and statue of Hera, which his granddaughter repaired at some date after the earthquake of AD 17 (*SEG XXVIII* 928). (c) The same group, οἱ τοῦ Διὸς μύσται καὶ θεραπευταί, honored someone around AD 100, and (d) an altar apparently of Zeus and mentioning τῶν θεραπευτῶν may be as early as the first century BC.³² Robert took these testimonia to show the long continuity of the group of *therapeutai*, from Achaemenid times (the Droaphernes dedication) to Roman Imperial. Rather, these other inscriptions can offer an approximate control on the date of our prohibitions — they may be roughly contemporary with these other documents of the *therapeutai* of Zeus,³³ which range from perhaps as early 100 BC (*I. Sardis* 22) through the first century AD.

Thus the documented continuity of this association is not so impressive — perhaps already in the first century BC, and certainly in the early Empire. Our two injunctions about mysteries need be no older than this; they may well be contemporary with each other and with the inscription itself in the second century AD.

TENDANCE

Ancient polytheism knew groups of subordinates or volunteers who tended sacred things. The terminology and the practice were old: statues and other equipage had always required maintenance. At Sardes

²⁹ Herrmann (1996b) 57-58.

³⁰ E.g., *IG* IX.1 8, XII.5 292, XII Suppl. 447, *I. Iasos* 618, *I. Stratonikeia* 1031, *MAMA* VI 352, *TAM* II 146, 838f, 920, 1204 (a woman), *TAM* V 1835 with Petzl's comments: none earlier than II AD. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 679c, οἱ τε ἄρχοντες... καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς πόλεως.

³¹ So Hanfmann & Ramage (1978) 178. Robert (1975) 321 n. 50 (doubtfully) and Paz de Hoz (1999) 177, followed the original editors in dating *I. Sardis* 22 ca. 100 BC, which was based on equating Socrates with a Socrates of that date (quoted below, n. 67). Herrmann (1996a) 324 n. 29, leaves the question of the date of *I. Sardis* 22 open.

³² Herrmann (1996a) 321-329.

³³ Cf. Herrmann (1996a) 326, 333; Mitchell (2007) 158 ("perhaps between the first century BC and the first century AD").

itself, a *neokoros* of the city's tutelary goddess Artemis was appointed πρὸς τὴν θεραπείαν καὶ εὐκοσμίαν τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν Ἀρτέμιδος (*I. Sardis* 4.9, II BC).³⁴ As to statues specifically: in Crete, some persons were thanked for caring for the ancient statues, τὰ ἀρχαῖα [ἀ]γάλματα θαραπεύσαντες (*I. Cret.* III II 1, late II BC). On Thasos, a retiring *neokoros* was honored because she had 'painted and gilded the goddess', [νεωκο]ρήσασα ἐνέκαυσε [καὶ ἐχρύσ]ωσε τὴν θεὸν (I BC).³⁵ At the Ptoion in Boeotia, a benefactor paid for τὴν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἐπαγάνωσιν καὶ θεραπείαν (I BC).³⁶ These were one-time voluntary benefactions, duly praised. The *therapeutai* at Sardes, by contrast, were a continuing and privileged group, permitted to enter the *adyton* and tend the statue. But whether self-selecting or appointed by the state, they were, like the instances just mentioned, volunteers in their piety.

In the Hellenistic period the noun *therapeutes* is found mostly of devotees of the Egyptian gods.³⁷ In Roman Imperial times it is more widely used, and especially of those who tended divine statues and saw to their clothing, crowning, and cleaning.³⁸ The verb θεραπεύειν is well attested,³⁹ and in Christian polemic θεραπεύειν τὰ εἰδῶλα became a commonplace.⁴⁰ This could become a special privilege: πάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν θεὸν θεραπευταὶ καὶ τάξεις ἔχοντες (Aelius Aristides 48.47). The *therapeutai* of Zeus of Sardes would fit well with an Imperial date.

³⁴ Cf. *IG* XII.4 348.47, τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τοῦ [τ]εμένους θεραπειάς (Cos, late IV BC).

³⁵ *IG* XII Suppl. p. 164, with Pouilloux (1954) 385.

³⁶ *IG* VII 4149, with Roesch (1982) 226 n. 2.

³⁷ Vidman (1970) 66-72; Robert (1975) 319 n. 41; Pleket (1981) 159-160.

³⁸ So already Foucart (1875) 333, on *IG* V.2 265, θεραπεύουσα καὶ συνευκ[ο]-σμ[οῦ]σα... [πρ]ὸς τὰν τᾶς θεοῦ (Kore) τιμὰν καὶ κ[ό]σμη[σιν] ('year 85', first century BC or AD).

³⁹ *SEG* VIII 467.B.51 (Egypt, III BC), τοῖς τὸ ἱερὸν θεραπεύουσιν; *IG* II² 1365.26 of Mén (Roman Athens), θεραπευέ[τω]ν τὸν θεόν; Plut. *Mor.* 351E of Isis, ἀγνείας τε πάσης καὶ νεωκορίας ἔργον ὁσιώτερον, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ κεχαρισμένον, ἦν σὺ θεραπεύεις.

⁴⁰ In the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, τὰ εἰδῶλα ἐθεράπευον (Lipsius, *Acta apost. apocr.* I 271); in [Justin Martyr] *Quaest. resp.*, θεραπευθέντων τῶν εἰδώλων and τὰ εἰδῶλα πανταχοῦ ἐθεράπευον (von Otto, *Apol. Christ.* V pp. 60, 204); in *Barl. & Jos.*, πλείονος δὲ τιμῆς τοῦς τῶν εἰδώλων ἀξιοὶ θεραπευτάς τε καὶ νεωκόρους (p. 30 Loeb). Cf. Athanasius on pagan νεωκόροι τῶν εἰδώλων (*Epist. encyc.* 5.7, *Hist. Arian.* 54.3; Opitz II.1 p. 174, 214).

MYSTERY CULTS AT SARDES

Participation in three mystery cults is proscribed for the *neokoroi therapeutai*. This list favors a date in the Roman Empire rather than earlier. Mysteries of Phrygian Sabazius were known in Athens already in the fourth century BC (Theophr., *Char.* 27.8). At Sardes, one other reference to the god is extant, a dedication of late Hellenistic date.⁴¹ The Attalid monarchs imported mysteries of 'Zeus the Sabazius' to Pergamum from Cyzicus towards the mid-second century BC (*Royal Corr.* 66-67); perhaps they were no earlier in coming to Sardes. But his mysteries were widespread and popular in Asia Minor by Imperial times. Roman Sardes must have long known the mysteries of Sabazius, though this is not otherwise on record. While old among the Greeks, the cult was often regarded as foreign and vulgar. For Aristophanes the rites are alien and irrational, women's religion (*Vesp.* 9, *Av.* 874, *Lys.* 387-388 τῶν γυναικῶν τρυφή). Theophrastus' initiate is the 'Superstitious Man'. Greeks of a certain class evidently regarded the mysteries of Sabazius as both exotic and unmanly. This might help explain the prohibition in the Sardes inscription. But what seems more pertinent is its unparalleled qualification, 'the mysteries of Sabazius of the censer-bearers': whatever Sardians thought of traditional Sabazius mysteries, here apparently was a novel and distinct sect.

Worship of Phrygian Agdistis is found in Athens already at the beginning of the Hellenistic period.⁴² But apart from the Sardes inscription, mysteries of Agdistis *isto nomine* are not attested at any date. Robert thought that these mysteries could be explained to the extent that Agdistis was understood as a name for the Mother of the Gods⁴³ or for Cybele, to whom ecstatic worship was attributed by Greeks from an early date.⁴⁴ These two goddesses are attested at Sardes as cults of the state, Cybele in the archaic period and Meter in the Hellenistic,⁴⁵ but under their

⁴¹ E. Lane, *Corpus cultus Iovis Sabazii* II no. 30 (a text that awaits explication).

⁴² In Peiraeus, a dedication Ἀνγδίστει καὶ Ἀττιδί: IG II² 4671 = *Corpus cultus Cybelae* no. 308 with photograph p. 78.

⁴³ Robert (1975) 324. Μητήρ Θεῶν Ἀνγδίστις: W.M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics* I 246, no. 88; E. Haspels, *Highlands of Phrygia* I 298, no. 8; more examples in Robert (1980) 236-238.

⁴⁴ Scholars sometimes characterize rituals that included ecstasy, music, and dancing as 'mysteries'. See however the caution of Burkert (1987) 112.

⁴⁵ Hdt. 5.102.1, ἱρὸν ἐπιχωρίης θεοῦ Κυβήβης; Gauthier (1989) 47 [*SEG* XXXIX 1284.5], τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Μητροῶι.

proper names, and there is no evidence of mysteries. Agdistis is on record in Lydia otherwise only once, in a private cult of Zeus at Philadelphia (*TAM* V 1539.51 = *LSAM* 20, I BC), as guardian of the group's regulations (like Nemesis?); no mysteries are involved. The uniqueness of the mysteries of Agdistis in the Sardes inscription suggests again a novelty cult.

Ma was the great goddess of Comana in Cappadocia and of Comana in Pontus.⁴⁶ Robert thought the Sardes inscription to be the only evidence for her mysteries at any date. While this is literally correct, it may also be incomplete. According to Origen (*C. Celsum* 6.22), Celsus discussed various mysteries but ignored those of the barbarians: those of the Egyptians, in which many are initiated, or those of the Cappadocians for Artemis of Comana. The locale Comana⁴⁷ and the fact that Ma and Artemis were frequently equated by Imperial writers⁴⁸ show that Celsus was referring to Ma.⁴⁹ Comana's goddess of war may well be on record as early as the Bronze Age. But she seems to be unmentioned by any Greek source before the first century BC.⁵⁰ The only other testimony to her in Lydia is a tiny private altar found near Hyrcanis.⁵¹ So a pre-Imperial date for Ma at Sardes seems unlikely, and mysteries of Ma at any date are almost unheard of.

Thus all three of these *mysteria* are either unparalleled or almost so. Their common denominator is *recherché* novelty. And it is conspicuous that the *therapeutai* are not forbidden to participate in other mysteries

⁴⁶ See now Debord (2005).

⁴⁷ Cf. τῇ ἐν Κομάνοις θεῷ, *SEG* LII 1464 ter.10.

⁴⁸ From Strab. 12.2.3 to Procop. *Wars* 1.17.13.

⁴⁹ This is recognized by Hartmann (1928) 89.

⁵⁰ Early testimonia: a dedication at Susa *SEG* VII 10 (II/I BC or later, to judge from the script); Ivantchik (2004) 1-14, argues that the Olbian dedication *CIRB* 74 is as old as 100 BC. The claim that Sulla introduced the cult of Ma from Cappadocia to Rome in 88 BC (e.g. *Lex.topog.urbs.Rom.* I (1993) 193; rightly absent from Richardson (1982) 57-58) is based on a misunderstanding of Plut. *Sull.* 9.7 (Sulla's dream of a war goddess, θεὸν ἦν τιμῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι παρὰ Καππαδόκων μαθόντες, εἴτε δὴ Σελήνην οἶσαν εἴτε Ἀθηνᾶν εἴτε Ἐννῶ, "a goddess whom the Romans, having learned of her from the Cappadocians, honor, whether as Luna or Minerva or Bellona"). Perhaps Sulla in his memoirs (cf. Plut. *Sull.* 6.6) reported his dream of an unnamed Cappadocian goddess; in any case the passage reflects the application to this story of a scholarly syncretism of war goddesses and an idle deduction about origins (Roman cults of all Plutarch's candidates predated 88 BC). It happens that no temple of Bellona in Rome is said to belong to Ma (see the sources quoted in Hartmann (1928) 80-81), and though Sulla was in Cappadocia in 92, no source says that he imported the cult or knew the name of Ma.

⁵¹ *TAM* V 1305 (17.5 cm. wide), late Hellenistic or Imperial.

which must have long been available in Sardes, for example those of Dionysus or Isis.

The prohibition against sharing these mysteries reflects a background and an anxiety. The background, the religious behavior implied by the regulations, is the collecting of multiple initiations to mysteries and the pursuit of the exotic. The quest for foreign mysteries was in full spate in the Roman Empire. By contrast, the evidence for mysteries attached to eastern cults before Imperial times is vanishingly small.⁵² Thus an Imperial date for the mysteries named in the Sardes prohibitions is more likely.

FORBIDDEN CULT PARTICIPATION

If the quest for novel mysteries is characteristic of the Roman Empire, the group's response is timeless: suspicion and anxiety in the face of the new and alien in religious practice. It is, to be exact, reactionary, and reflects the suspicion which a respectable and established group felt towards the unfamiliar and unproven, and towards the competition which it threatened. We see this attitude, with its implied aspersions on class and gender, throughout antiquity, from Demosthenes' attack on the rituals of Aeschines' mother to the Romans' sporadic restrictions on foreign cults. If there was more of this conservative reaction in the Empire, it is because there was more to react against.

And yet, forbidding participation in cult is virtually unheard of.⁵³ Select persons could of course be exclude from access to sacred space,⁵⁴

⁵² See Dunand (1975) 12-15; Burkert (1987), esp. 40-41. The aretalogies call Isis the creator of initiations (μυήσεις) in general, just as she was also of sacred precincts (τεμένη), but they do not credit her with mysteries of her own; cf. Grandjean (1975) 103-104. Burkert calls Tibullus 1.3.23-26 "the oldest literary witness for mysteries of Isis" (40). But the passage concerns the annual ten-day period of purification for worshippers; purification is not initiation, and it featured in all ancient rites, only more elaborately for the Egyptian gods. Perhaps as early as 1 BC: *I. Prusa ad Olympum* 1028, ἄρρητα βεβήλοις of Isis (on it see Burkert 26); *SEG* XI 974.18-26, mysteries of the Syrian Goddess at Thuria.

⁵³ Burkert (1987) 4: "in the pre-Christian epoch the various forms of worship, including new and foreign gods in general and the institution of mysteries in particular, are never exclusive"; 48-51 on multiple initiations and priesthoods. Long ago Roussel (1916) 253-255, 267, observed that the several associations that honored the Egyptian gods on Delos were not exclusive; cf. Cumont (1949) 407.

⁵⁴ See the examples in E. Lupu, *NGSL* 14-21, 72-73.

temporarily or permanently, for reasons of pollution, criminality,⁵⁵ nationality, gender, etc., or even for impurity of heart, or for atheism.⁵⁶ Cults shared by the members of a group could exclude non-members, e.g. a cult maintained by a family or a tribe.⁵⁷ Any group could define who was allowed in and who was not.⁵⁸ Cities, being self-governing, might do likewise, denying a temple to a foreign god, just as they could deny land-ownership to a foreign person. To take up residence in Attica, Astarte needed permission (*IG* II³ 337). The Roman state could require state certification in order to form a Bacchic group, or ban eastern gods from within the pomerium.

Those were bans on admission to one's own rites and places. A civic parallel to the Sardes prohibitions, by contrast, would be a law that citizens, when abroad, could not worship certain gods. That is unthinkable. The rule in Greek religion was: When in doubt, salute. The Romans' reported treatment of Druids is more akin to the Sardes prohibitions: Augustus forbade Roman citizens from participating in Druid cult, Claudius banned it outright (Suet., *Claud.* 25). Whatever the law that Rome applied to Christians stated, it did not legislate belief or ritual (the first would require mind-reading; the second would require a typology of ritual acts, those which were legal and those which were not). What the law addressed was membership and participation (especially financial) in a group: that was testable in court.

These rare prohibitions by governments concerned matters of public order or the protection of borders or of membership; they derive from the interest of the state in monitoring the behavior and ensuring the safety of its citizens and subjects. Where, then, do we find one cult forbidding participation in another cult?

- (1) Nock was able to cite only one example, a fifth-century AD story that a Mithraic *pater* (πατήρ ὢν τῆς Μιθριακῆς τελετῆς) became an Eleusinian hierophant, even though he was devoted to other gods

⁵⁵ Thus banning from all the city's public places, including temples. The latter is aggressively expressed in *LSAM* 16 (Gambreium, III BC): those convicted of impiety are not to sacrifice to any god for ten years (26, θύειν μηθὲν θεῶν ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτη).

⁵⁶ So at least Lucian, *Alex.* 38: the new cult excludes Christians and Epicureans.

⁵⁷ E.g. Athens, *IG* II² 1214.16, rites reserved for members of the deme; Cos, *IG* XII.4 103.3 ἔδο[ξ]ε ταῖς φυλαῖς αἷς μέτεστι τῶν ἱερῶν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἡρακλεῦς ἐν Ἀλασάρναι; cf. 348.7 τοῖ τῶν ἱερῶν κοινωνεῦντες, 52 οἱ[ς] μέτεστι τῶν ἱερῶν. Compare Herodotus on the Caunians, τούτοις μὲν δὴ μέτεστι, ὅσοι δὲ ἐόντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσί ἐγένοντο, τούτοις δὲ οὐ μέτα (1.171.6).

⁵⁸ So the Lindians, μὴ μετέχωντι τῶν ἐν Λίνδῳ ἱερῶν οἱ μὴ καὶ πρότερον μετέχον (*Syll.*³ 340, with Bresson (1988) 145-154).

(than the Eleusinians) and had taken an oath not to preside over other rites (θεοῖς ἑτέροις καθιέρωται καὶ ὁμώμοκεν ἀρρήτους ὄρκους ἑτέρων ἱερῶν μὴ προστήσεσθαι).⁵⁹ This prohibition, as Nock noted, need not have been a general feature of the Mithraic initiates, or older than its alleged time, when pagans were appropriating Christian usages. And (in the telling) it went unenforced.

- (2) The pose of henotheism that was commonly struck in prayers and hymns could go to extremes. ‘Pray to Isis; do not pray to a[nother god]’, says a Demotic hymn in a second-century AD papyrus.⁶⁰ But this, like all such brave talk about a one and only god in polytheism, is the momentary rhetoric of praise, not theology and not a rule for actual conduct in the world.⁶¹ A modern analogy is the rhetoric of advertising: ‘the one and only cleanser for every need’ (εἷς θεός), ‘accept no substitute’. Such exclamations should not be taken literally or as law.
- (3) In the first century BC an Egyptian club that honored Zeus stipulated (along with more general requirements for obedience) that no member was ‘to make factions or to leave the brotherhood of the president for another’.⁶² This is an exclusivity, but again different from that at Sardes in not being selective: resignation in order to join any other group is banned. The Roman Empire witnessed the rivalry of initiatory cults, even of the ‘same’ god. An acclamation of the second century AD: ‘now we are the foremost of all the Baccheioi’ (νῦν πάντων πρῶτοι τῶν Βακχείων, *IG* II² 1368.26). But rivalry alone cannot explain singling out three particular cults as forbidden.
- (4) Judaism and Christianity offer no strict similarity.⁶³ The Sardes association did not say, Thou shalt have no other gods. It specifies

⁵⁹ Eunap. *VS* 7.3.4 (475); Nock (1933) 292-293; cf. Burkert (1987) 50-51.

⁶⁰ Kockelmann (2008) 33.

⁶¹ See Versnel (2011) 280-307.

⁶² *P. Lond.* VII 2193.13, μηιδὲ σχί<σ>ματα συνίστασ[θαι] μηιδ’ ἀπ[ο]χωρήισε[ιν ἐκ] τῆς τοῦ ἡγ[ο]υμένου φράτρας εἰς ἑτέραν φράτραν, with Nock e.a. (1936) 39-88. The Order of the Star founded by King Jean of France in 1352 stipulated that no member could be a member of another order: de Laurière (1729) 465, “Et se il y a aucuns qui avant ceste compaignie ayent *empris* aucun Ordre, il la devront lessier, se il pevent bonnement”. The new order failed miserably, meeting only once. This was in the context of the vast proliferation of knightly orders: “There was not a prince or great noble who did not desire to have his own order” (Huizinga (1954) 87). Pierre d’Ailly (ca. 1400) complained of the proliferation of religious orders that “this leads to a diversity of usages, to exclusiveness and rivalry, to pride and vanity” (Huizinga 153).

⁶³ Horsley, *New Documents*, p. 23 on the Sardes inscription, invokes the exclusivity of Judaism and Christianity and concludes that it was “not confined to these groups”;

three mystery cults amid what would have been a sea of mystery cults. It is this selectivity that makes the gesture look less like Judeo-Christian exclusivity and more like the Roman state's prohibition of joining Christianity.

The rulings applying to the *neokoroi therapeutai* at Sardes do not seem to fit well with any of these exclusivities. What was their motive? One could imagine various objections on their part: to keep members from ritual contamination (which seems unlikely); from 'double-dipping', an excessive pursuit of pious initiations; irresponsible flightiness; insufficient concentration on one's duties to the cult group. But such motives would apply to joining any other cult, not just the three that are named. Other mysteries will have been available in Sardes⁶⁴ as in any other Roman city; far more visible and popular mystery cults — certainly we can expect Isis or Dionysus in Roman Sardes — were not forbidden by these rulings.

What the three forbidden cults share is obscurity in extant testimonia: that is sufficient evidence of their novelty in Sardes. To the *therapeutai*, I suggest, mysteries of Agdistis and of Ma and of a factional sect of Sabazius-worshippers were unknown and intrusive: other mysteries will have been seen as established and time-honored, and therefore legitimate. Such conservatism⁶⁵ marked the Imperial age, and perhaps especially Roman Sardes — the autochthonous Sardians, as they liked to call themselves.⁶⁶

followed by Ascough (2006) 174-175. So already Robert (1975) 326, "such exclusivity is in force only among the Jews and Christians".

⁶⁴ The record however is slim: 'mysteries' of Hermes and Heracles in the gymnasium (*I. Sardis* 21, with Herrmann's caution, (1996a) 340 n. 75: Hellenistic), and in Imperial times a *mysterion* of Attis (*I. Sardis* 17.6), *mystai* of Apollo (1996a, 318-321), and some unidentified mysteries (1996a, 317-318 and *I. Sardis* 62 with 1996a, 341). In the third century AD a cult group at Sardes, unfortunately unidentified, received the provincial governor's permission to proceed with their traditional 'mysteries and sacrifices and libations' (the surviving text does not reveal what had been the impediment): Petzl (2009) 377-386.

⁶⁵ Well put by Kraabel (1992) 254: "conservatism, reinforcing the piety of the past"; but accepting Robert's Achaemenid date he concluded "it is likely that this kind of exclusiveness is nothing new".

⁶⁶ *I. Sardis* 13 and 63-66, with Herrmann (1993) 238-243; πρωτόχθων in *IGUrbRom* I 85, *SEG* XXXVI 1095, 1096; Σάρδιες ἀρχαῖαι in *Anth.Gr.* 7.709.1. In AD 26 (Tac. *Ann.* 4.55) the Sardians informed the Senate that they had colonized Italy (the Etruscans) and the Peloponnesus (Pelops): the ancient capital of the Lydians was older than Greece and Rome.

LEGITIMATION

This conservative attitude can be the link between the Achaemenid dedication and the later cult regulations. What do the statue-dedication and the prohibitions have in common, that caused them to be extracted and reinscribed on one stone? The stone is a building block, not a statue base. Briant⁶⁷ held that this was an accidental collocation, and that only the base of the statue, not the statue itself, had survived from Persian times. But the lack of a referent would render the second sentence unintelligible: whose statue did the *therapeutai* crown? The unnamed god of the regulations is the Zeus that Droaphernes dedicated; I would conclude that one authority was responsible for inscribing this stone, the devotees of Zeus.

They were devoted to the care of his statue; and they had a text that showed its antiquity, a dated dedication that proved an origin older than the coming of the Greeks to Lydia. By the second century AD, the statue set up in Persian times was quite possibly the oldest dated monument in Sardes; and in ancient religion, age brought respect. This, I suggest, is what caused them to cite the dedicatory text on the occasion of a dispute about proper conduct: that text was their proof of the antiquity and therefore the legitimacy and superiority of their tendance of the ancient statue, by contrast with new fads for strange mysteries.

Sardes was besieged by Antiochus III and extensively destroyed in 215/4, and substantial rehabilitation and rebuilding were begun in 213.⁶⁸ Late in the third century BC the great temple of Artemis, the city's chief god, was reconfigured, divided into two halves, a space for Artemis to the west and one for Zeus to the east.⁶⁹ After the earthquake of AD 17, significant rebuilding again had to be done to the temple. In one of these two repairs, a wall was built across that prevented communication of the two halves. It may be that the statue dedicated by Droaphernes, whatever had been its original site, was moved to this space belonging to Zeus on one of those occasions,⁷⁰ to be inside the *adyton* as the second

⁶⁷ Briant (1998) 223-224.

⁶⁸ Gauthier (1989).

⁶⁹ As Zeus Polieus: οἱ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ τε Πολιέως Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος οἰκοῦντες (*I. Sardis* 8.133, Augustan: the temple residents are allowed to erect a statue of a benefactor). His priest is secondary eponym ca. 100 BC: ἐπὶ ἱερέω[ς] τῆς μὲν Πώμης Σωκράτου, τοῦ δὲ Διὸς τοῦ Πολιέως Ἀλκαίου (*OGIS* 437, now Laffi (2010)).

⁷⁰ So Robert (1975) 321 suggested. A fragment of a large statue of Zeus seems to derive from this area; but the matter is complex, see Hanfmann (1983) 93, 119-121, 132,

sentence says. That location, in the city's chief temple, would help explain the self-importance of the statue's *therapeutai*.

We can suspect that the *therapeutai* believed that their group and their privileged duties dated from the creation of the statue in Achaemenid times. What was the truth? Voluntary associations proliferated in the Hellenistic period. Commonly they were non-citizens who banded together under the banner of a favored god in order to fulfill the various goals which for citizens were fulfilled by the subdivisions of the polis; we know them best on Delos and Rhodes.⁷¹ The Roman Empire seems to witness more associations in which piety was the chief motive; and it witnessed also the archaizing cultivation of inherited or invented traditions. These seem to be the characteristics of the *therapeutai* of Zeus at Sardes. The caretakers of his statue look less like the social and commercial club of Poseidoniasts on Hellenistic Delos, and rather more like the altar guild of a modern Christian church, self-consciously and ostentatiously pious and old-fashioned. At Roman Olympia a group of persons who claimed to be descendants of Phidias were uniquely privileged to clean the famous statue of Zeus.⁷² That ancestry was probably fictitious; in any case, they were volunteers. I suggest that service groups of this sort are more likely to be found in Imperial times than before.

CONCLUSION

On this interpretation, the group that toward Roman times formed itself to tend an ancient statue of Zeus would likely be among the most conservative people in the city, ostentatious in their services to an old cult statue, a privilege which gave them a sense of superiority — self-dramatizing atavists in an already conservative city. In the second century AD, the *therapeutai* reacted to the possible intrusion of the new and exotic among their own number: one member, Dorates, has in the manner of the age gotten himself initiated into some exotic new mysteries, or talked of doing so; the group has reacted with alarm and sought a judgment.

fig. 176. It would follow that our inscribed block came originally from the east end of the temple — which perhaps is testable. F.K. Yegül is preparing a full account of the building.

⁷¹ See especially Fraser (1977) 46-70.

⁷² Paus. 5.14.5; one member is known, a Roman citizen: Τίτον Φλάουιον Ἡράκλειτον, τὸν ἀπὸ Φειδίου, φαιδυντήν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου (*I. Olympia* 466).

The three sentences extracted for display on this stone can be described as authority, policy, and execution: 1) The group was in charge of the cult statue in the temple, and on its base was the ancient dedicatory inscription. They saw this text as their founding document, and believed that their privileged service was as old as the statue itself: the inscription justified their existence and their authority. So in the course of the proceeding about Dorates, this ancient text was quoted. 2) The god or his priest or the law now made a general finding about these novel mysteries: the god's attendants are not to participate. 3) The laws or the *therapeutai* apply the policy to the case at hand: they order Dorates to abstain.

Hostility to the new and strange in religion is documented from at least the fifth century BC onwards. Such innovations were seen by many as charlatanism, not respectable, female, lower class. Legitimate religion meant, first, old religion. When the Ptolemies wanted to guarantee the authenticity of private cults of Dionysus, a consumer-protection law, they framed a simple standard: the cult must be three generations old.⁷³ But that posture in the face of the new and dubious was an attitude of the political community, the polis, the traditional locus of one's identity: the citizens had every right to guard their boundaries, to decide who of men and gods was allowed to settle with them. At Sardes we see something different, the pious devotees of a statue viewing another cult with alarm and forbidding themselves to join it. The conservative reaction against the new in religion that we know so well in the ancient world, a part of one's identity as a respectable citizen, is here taken up and made a part of another sort of identity, the *therapeutai* of Zeus, a chosen identity that rested on service rather than on location or birth. This is what is novel and striking in this inscription.

These arguments about the inscription and its chronology are admittedly atmospheric — that the prohibitions seem to breathe the air of the Roman Empire rather than earlier,⁷⁴ and that the collocation of these texts is not fortuitous but expresses the concerns of a single group for their proper tendance of a statue. If that is correct, this episode at Sardes

⁷³ Lenger, *C. Ord. Ptol.* 27; cf. *LSAM* 73.7, third generation citizenship required for eligibility for a priesthood (Theangela, Hellenistic). As the Christians would say, πᾶν τὸ ἀρχαιοτέρῳ διαφέρων, αἰδέσιμον (Basil, *PG* 31.165; quoted at Council VII: Mansi XIII 252).

⁷⁴ Cf. Athanassiadi (2010) 40: “dans le vocabulaire hellénistique, on manque absolument de termes pour désigner la notion d'intolérance religieuse”.

anticipates, in its small way, the identity politics based on religious adhesion which through the third and fourth centuries will grow to become such a decisive feature of public and private life.

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THE SUSA MARRIAGES — A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL NOTE*

Abstract: The Persian and Median noblewomen whom Alexander married to his Greek and Macedonian companions at Susa were all repudiated shortly after his death — so common opinion would have it. The present note aims to dispel this notion and to argue instead that Alexander's Successors had no reason to abandon their Asiatic wives — even if they did eventually marry other women. If the Susan brides failed to make their presence in recorded history, that would be because ancient authors found nothing worth mentioning in their subsequent careers. Underlying modern assumptions, moreover, we will find misleading beliefs such as that the Macedonians were serially monogamous and that they resented their foreign wives. This article may thus serve as a warning about the intricacies of (early-) Hellenistic marital practices.

It has become a scholarly commonplace that the Macedonian commanders abandoned their Persian wives after the death of Alexander the Great.¹ The present note aims to illustrate that this supposition is unfounded. Not a single ancient source survives that explicitly makes such a claim. Modern historians have nonetheless volunteered to explain these alleged mass divorces. Indeed, some scholars seem almost delighted concluding that none of unions lasted long beyond Alexander's death. Heckel's is a lone voice questioning this axiom.² The object of this article is not to examine the details of the Susa wedding ceremony or Alexander's motives behind the occasion, but rather to trace the historiography of the modern assumption that — with the exception of Seleucus — all of Alexander's companions gave up their Susan brides.

It will prove beneficial, first, to examine the sources — especially Arrian — which provide information about the marriages. Names and numbers are important to get an impression of who and how many brides

* This note is part of an ongoing preliminary study of Hellenistic marital relations which is, *i.e.*, meant to reveal some of the flaws in modern scholarly assumptions. I am happy to extend my gratitude to this journal's anonymous reviewers for their critical comments. While their suggestions have helped to improve the article's general argumentation, I take sole responsibility for the remaining faults.

¹ For the mass wedding at Susa, see: Droysen (1877-78) I.2 241-247; Niese (1893-1903) I 165-166; Beloch (1912-27) IV.1 34-35; Tarn (1948) I 109-111 & II 333-334; Cary (1951) 250; Seibert (1967) 5; Schachermeyr (1976) 62-70; Bosworth (1988) 156-158; Brosius (1996) 77-78; Carney (1996) 577-579; Pomeroy (1997) 790; Ogden (1999) 44-46; Hoff (2002); O'Neil (2002); Worthington (2004) 244-247; Grainger (2007) 89-90; Heckel (2008) 137-141; Singor (2010) 134-135.

² Heckel (2008) 138.

and grooms were involved. We can then better assess the modern assumption that all women were repudiated. Why do scholars feel the need to reiterate this notion, despite the lack of evidence? The following historiographical analysis is going to reveal some of the presumptions underlying the argumentation. I will additionally offer counterarguments and other ways to interpret the silence of the extant sources about the further careers of the Persian wives that Alexander offered his companions in Susa.

Arrian tells us that, in addition to Roxane, Alexander himself married Barsine, whom he calls the eldest daughter of Darius III; and that Aristobulus reports that the king also took the youngest daughter of Ochus, Parysatis, as wife.³ Hephaestion was married to Drypetis, a younger daughter of Darius, while Craterus was married to Amastris, a daughter of Darius' brother Oxyathres.⁴ Perdikkas married the daughter of Atropates of Media, while Ptolemy and Eumenes both married daughters of Artabazus of Phrygia, who Arrian calls Artacama and Artonis respectively.⁵ Nearchus was given a daughter of Mentor of Rhodes and Seleucus a daughter of Spitamenes of Bactria.⁶ Additionally some eighty other companions were given wives from the Persian and Median nobility.⁷

Other sources, however, correct Arrian, for Darius' eldest daughter was called Statira.⁸ Parysatis, the youngest daughter of Ochus — better

³ Arr. *Anab.* 7.4.4 (ὁ δὲ καὶ γάμους ἐποίησεν ἐν Σούσοις αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων: αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν Δαρείου θυγατέρων τὴν πρεσβυτάτην Βαρσίνην ἡγάγετο, ὥς δὲ λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτη, τῶν Ὁχου θυγατέρων τὴν νεωτάτην Παρύσατιν. ἤδη δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ ἡγμένη καὶ ἡ Ὀξυάρτου τοῦ Βακτρίου παῖς Ῥωζάνη).

⁴ Arr. *Anab.* 7.4.5 (Δρύπετιν δὲ Ἡφαιστίῳ δίδωσι, Δαρείου παῖδα καὶ ταύτην, ἀδελφὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικός: ἐθέλειν γάρ οἱ ἀνεψιούς τῶν παίδων γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἡφαιστίωνος παῖδας: Κρατερῷ δὲ Ἀμαστρίνην τὴν Ὀξυάρτου τοῦ Δαρείου ἀδελφοῦ παῖδα).

⁵ Arr. *Anab.* 7.4.5-6 (Περδίκκα δὲ τὴν Ἀτροπάτου τοῦ Μηδίας σατράπου παῖδα ἔδωκεν: Πτολεμαίῳ δὲ τῷ σωματοφύλακι καὶ Εὐμενεῖ τῷ γραμματεῖ τῷ βασιλικῷ τὰς Ἀρταβάζου παῖδας τῷ μὲν Ἀρτακάμαν, τῷ δὲ Ἀρτωνιν).

⁶ Arr. *Anab.* 7.4.6 (Νεάρχῳ δὲ τὴν Βαρσίνης τε καὶ Μέντορος παῖδα: Σελεύκῳ δὲ τὴν Σπιταμένους τοῦ Βακτρίου παῖδα).

⁷ Arr. *Anab.* (ὥσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐταίροις τὰς δοκιμωτάτας Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων παῖδας ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα. οἱ γάμοι δὲ ἐποιήθησαν νόμῳ τῷ Περσικῷ).

⁸ For Statira, see: Diod. 17.36.2, 107.6; Curt. Ruf. 3.11.25, 12.7-26, 4.5.1, 4.10.19, 21, 10.3.12; Plut. *Alex.* 21.1-5, 70.2, 77.4; id. *De Alex. fort.* 2.6 (= *Mor.* 338D); Arr. *Anab.* 2.11.9, 3.22.6; Just. *Epit.* 11.9.12, 12.10.9; *RE* s.v. 'Stateira', no. 3, 2nd ser. III.2 2171-2172; Droysen (1833) 497 n. 37 (proposing a Hellenizing name change); Berve (1926) II 363-364, no. 722 (assuming Arr. *Anab.* 7.4.4 is erroneous); Beloch (1912-27) IV.2 121-122; Tarn (1948), esp. II 334-336 (finding the double name an insoluble puzzle); Hammond (1972-88) III 99; Brosius (1996) 77 (suggesting a legitimizing name change); Ogden (1999) 44-45; Heckel (2006) 256-257, 341 n. 695 (believing Aristob. was no longer clear on the details or concerned about accuracy).

known as Artaxerxes III — is not mentioned anywhere else as Alexander's wife (or in any other context).⁹ The Macedonian king had, of course, already married Roxane, the daughter of the Bactrian nobleman Oxyartes, during the suppression of the Sogdian resistance (327 BCE).¹⁰ Even earlier, after capturing Damascus (333 BCE), Alexander had commenced a relationship with Barsine, the daughter of Artabazus and the widow first of Mentor and then of his brother Memnon of Rhodes.¹¹ If Heracles was indeed Barsine's son with Alexander, he was probably born several years later (*ca.* 327-324 BCE),¹² to be suddenly pushed forward by Polyperchon as pretender to the throne after the death of all other male Argeads (309 BCE).¹³ Heracles was evidently not considered a legitimate contender for succession at the death of Alexander the Great in Babylon (323 BCE), despite Nearchus' support for his mother-in-law's young son.¹⁴ At any rate, Arrian perhaps believed that Alexander had formalized his affair with this Barsine at Susa.¹⁵

⁹ For Parysatis, see: *RE s.v.* 'Parysatis', no. 2, XVIII.4 2052; Berve (1926) II 306, no. 607; Beloch (1912-27) IV.2 121-122; Hammond (1972-88) III 99; Brosius (1996) 77; Carney (1996) 578 n. 54; Ogden (1999) 41; Heckel (2006) 192; cf. Droysen (1833) 497 n. 37 (denying her existence).

¹⁰ For Roxane, see: Strabo 11.11.4 (410); Curt. Ruf. 8.4.23-25; Plut. *Alex.* 47.4; id. *De Alex. fort.* 1.11, 2.6 (= *Mor.* 332E, 338D); Arr. *Anab.* 4.19.5, 6.15.3; *Epit. Metz.* 70; *RE s.v.* 'Roxane', no. 5, 2nd ser. I.1 1155-1156; Droysen (1877-78) I.2 79, 83, 243; Niese (1893-1903) I 121-122; Beloch (1912-27) IV.1 25, 65 & IV.2 121; Berve (1926) II 346-347, no. 688; Macurdy (1932) 40, 52; Tarn (1948) I 76, 134, II 324, 326; Errington (1976) 145-147; Bosworth (1988) 117, 174; Hammond (1972-88) III 99-101, 138-149 pass.; Carney (1996) 575-577; Ogden (1999) 41-48; Worthington (2004) 188-190; Brosius (1996) 36, 95; Heckel (2006) 241-242; Grainger (2007) 82, 93-94, 101-109.

¹¹ For Barsine, see: Diod. 17.23.5-6; Curt. Ruf. 3.13.14, 10.6.11-13; Plut. *Alex.* 21.4; id. *Eum.* 1; Arr. *Anab.* 2.11.9-10; Just. *Epit.* 11.10.2-3; *RE s.v.* 'Barsine', no. 2, II.1 29; *Enc. Ir. s.v.* 'Mentor and Memnon'; Droysen (1833) 497, n. 34; Berve (1926) II 102-104, no. 206; Beloch (1912-27) III.2 147, IV.2 122-124; Macurdy (1932) 53, 55; Tarn (1948) II esp. 334, n. 4; Brunt (1975); Bosworth (1988) 64; Hammond (1972-88) III 100, 129, 164-169 pass.; Brosius (1996) 78; Carney (1996) 572-575; Worthington (2004) 101, 290; Heckel (2006) 70; Grainger (2007) 93.

¹² According to Diod. (20.20.1) Heracles was about 17 in 309 BCE; Just. (*Epit.* 15.2.3) gives 15 years of age.

¹³ For Heracles, in addition to the literature in n. 11 above, see: Plut. *De vit. pud.* 4; *RE s.v.* 'Herakles', no. 2, Suppl. IV 731-732; Beloch (1912-27) IV.1 138-139, IV.2 124-125; Berve (1926) II 168, no. 353; Tarn (1948) II 330-337; Brunt 1975, 31-33; Errington (1976) 147-148, 150; Hammond (1972-88) III 371 n. 2; Ogden (1999) 45-48, 56; Worthington (2004) 125, 290; Heckel (2006) 138; Grainger (2007) 115-116.

¹⁴ Curt. Ruf. 10.6.10-12; cf. Just. *Epit.* 11.10, 13.2; Droysen (1877-78) II.1 7; Beloch (1912-27) IV.1 64; Tarn (1948) II 330 n. 3, 333; Brunt (1975); Carney (1996) 580; Ogden (1999) 47; Worthington (2004) 271.

¹⁵ Beloch (1912-27) IV.1 35 n. 1.

Plutarch calls Barsine's sisters, who were married to Ptolemy and Eumenes, Apame and Barsine respectively.¹⁶ It would appear unlikely that Artabazus named two of his daughters Barsine.¹⁷ It is clear, though, there was quite some confusion surrounding the names of the Susan brides. While one might assume that Plutarch was wrong on both accounts, it is nonetheless possible that Artacama was also known as Apame.¹⁸ For in Avestan (Persian) *apama-* means so much as 'the latest, youngest' (child or nestling).¹⁹

According to Arrian, Alexander purposefully gave the Persian princess Drypetis to Hephaestion, so that the he and his friend would become related through marriage.²⁰ What the sources fail to acknowledge, though, is that Alexander also avoided any potential rivalry, should Drypetis bear a son to someone else. Hephaestion's widow is said to have publically lamented Alexander's death, but was then murdered together with her sister Statira and thrown into a well by Roxane.²¹ To be sure, the only other companion to marry a woman from the Persian royal family was Craterus — a clear indication of his importance among Alexander's confidants.²²

¹⁶ Plut. *Eum.* 1.3 (Βαρσίνην γὰρ τὴν Ἀρταβάζου ... τῶν ταύτης ἀδελφῶν Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν Ἀπάμαν, Εὐμενεὶ δὲ Βαρσίνην ἐξέδωκεν).

¹⁷ For Artonis, see: *RE* s.v. 'Artonis', II.2 1459, & s.v. 'Barsine', no. 2, II.1 29; Droysen (1877-78) I.2 243; Niese (1893-1903) I 166; Berve (1926) II 84-85, no. 155; Beloch (1912-27) IV.2 124; Brosius (1996) 78; Heckel (2006) 56. Ancient Greek or Macedonian naming practices have yet to be examined extensively; Ptolemy I would name two of his sons (with Eurydice and Berenice) Ptolemy (known by their resp. epiclesis Ceraunus and Philadelphus); and, as one of the anonymous readers points out, there is abundant evidence from Graeco-Roman Egypt of families in which more than one child bears the same name; there is no study of Hellenistic dynastic naming patterns; cf. Nagy (1979); Sommerstein (1980); Golden (1986); Hobson (1989) esp. 165-168; Hornblower & Matthews (2000) esp. 99-118 & 149-157; for (pre- and early) modern times, e.g., see Cox (1910) 252; Van Poppel (1999) 285 (I owe these last two reference to the same anonymous reader).

¹⁸ For Artacama, see: *RE* s.v. 'Apama', no. 2, I.2 2662, & 'Artakama', II.1 1303; *Enc. Ir.* s.v. 'Apama', no. 2; Droysen (1877-78) I.2 243; Niese (1893-1903) I 166; Berve (1926) II 52, no. 97; Beloch (1912-27) IV.2 178; Macurdy (1932) 102; Seibert (1967) 72; Vatin (1970) 62; Ellis (1994) 14, 27, 75; Brosius (1996) 78, 185; Ogden (1999) 69; Heckel (2006) 55-56; Müller (2009) 22; van Oppen (2011) 84-85, n. 7.

¹⁹ *Enc. Ir.* s.v. 'Apama'.

²⁰ For Drypetis, see: Diod. 17.36.2, 107.6; Arr. *Anab.* 2.11.9; Just. *Epit.* 11.9.12; *RE* s.v. 'Drypetis', Suppl. III 415; *Enc. Ir.* s.v. 'Drypetis'; Berve (1926) II 148, no. 290; Brosius (1996) 77; Ogden (1999) 46; Heckel (2006) 116.

²¹ Curt. Ruf. 10.5.20; Plut. *Alex.* 72, 77.4; Arr. *Anab.* 7.14; Just. *Epit.* 11.9.12; Droysen (1877-78) II.1 39; Hammond (1972-88) III 119 n. 2; Brosius (1996) 77-78; Grainger (2007) 93.

²² For Amastris, see: Diod. 20.109.7; Memn., *FGrHist* 434 F4-5; *RE* s.v. 'Amastris', no. 7, I.2 1750; *Enc. Ir.* s.v. 'Amestris', no. 4; Droysen (1877-78) esp. I.2 242, II.2 14, 207; Berve (1926) II 24, no. 50; Macurdy (1932) 60, 107, 113, 117; Seibert (1967) 13,

Although Arrian does not provide the name of Spitamenes' daughter, from other sources it is known that Seleucus' wife was called Apame.²³ She bore him his first son, Antiochus, about a year after their wedding (323 BCE), and afterwards two daughters, called Laodice and Apame.²⁴ When Seleucus had established himself as king, he married Stratonice (300 BCE), the daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes, but continued to honor Apame.²⁵ Several cities across the Seleucid kingdom were indeed named after her.²⁶ Arrian left the names of two more brides unmentioned. Perhaps Nearchus' wife, Mentor's daughter, was called after her mother Barsine — but that is mere speculation. Perdikkas arranged the appointment of his father-in-law as satrap of Lesser (*i.e.*, northwestern) Media after the death of Alexander.²⁷ Subsequently, probably after Perdikkas' death (320 BCE), Atropates renounced his allegiance to the Macedonians and established a kingdom of his own.

From the combined evidence we can thus gather the names of eight grooms: Alexander, Hephæstion, Craterus, Perdikkas, Ptolemy, Eumenes, Nearchus and Seleucus; and the names of seven brides: Statira, Parysatis, Drypetis, Amastris, Artacama, Artonis and Apame. While there is disagreement about the name of three of these brides, and two remain anonymous, to add to the confusion, the sources give varying numbers about the total number of nuptials solemnized at the ceremony in Susa. Plutarch claims that a total of a hundred Persian brides were wed to Greek and Macedonian grooms, rather than about eighty as Arrian states or ninety as Aelian has.²⁸ Probably the most accurate

24-26, 93-99, 125; Hammond (1972-88) III 240 n. 4; Brosius (1996) 78, n. 70; Ogden (1999) 58; Heckel (2006) 21; Grainger (2007) 145, 159; Dmitriev (2007) 142-143.

²³ For Apame, see: Livy 38.13; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 6.132; Plut. *Demetr.* 31; Ap. p. *Syr.* 57 (295); *RE s.v.* 'Apama'; *Enc. Ir. s.v.* 'Apama', no. 3; Droysen (1877-78) II.2 292; Bouché-Leclercq (1913-14) I 7; Berve (1926) II 52, no. 98; Beloch (1912-27) IV.2 197-200; Macurdy (1932) 77-78; Tam (1951) 446-451; Seibert (1967) 46-47; Vatin (1970) 70; Bengtson (1975) 39; Will (1979-82) I 273-275; Sherwin-White & Kuhrt (1993) 24-27; Brosius (1996) 18, 78 n. 72; Grainger (1997) 38, no. 3, & (2007) 130, 134, 145-146; Ogden (1999) 69, 118-119; Heckel (2006) 39.

²⁴ *OGIS* 214; *I. Didyma* 479; Beloch (1912-27) IV.2 197-198; Macurdy (1932) 66-69; Grayson (1975) 11; Sherwin-White & Kuhrt (1993) 24-27; Grainger (1997) 9; Ogden (1999) 120.

²⁵ *I. Didyma* 480; *SEG* XXXIV 1075; Macurdy (1932) 78; Fontenrose (1988) 168; Sherwin-White & Kuhrt (1993) 26.

²⁶ Strabo 12.578, 15.724, 16.750; Livy 38.13.4; Ap. p. *Syr.* 55 (282); Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ἀπάμεια'.

²⁷ Diod. 18.3.3; Strabo 11.13.1 (523); Just. *Epit.* 13.4.13.

²⁸ Plut. *Alex. fort.* 1.7 (ἐκατὸν Περσίδας νύμφας, ἐκατὸν νυμφίους Μακεδόνας καὶ Ἑλληνας); cf. Ael. *Var. Hist.* 8.7 (ἐνενήκοντα δὲ ἦσαν οἱ γαμοῦντες καὶ ἰσάριθμοι τούτοις οἱ θάλαμοι).

number, however, is found in Athenaeus' citation of Chares, who tells us that Alexander had ninety-two bridal chambers with a hundred couches prepared for the ceremony.²⁹ This difference between the number of chambers and couches might be explained by the polygamy among the Macedonians. Alexander himself may have had four wives by this time; Ptolemy may have officiated his relationship with the Athenian courtesan (*hetaera*) Thais at Susa or even earlier.³⁰ Moreover, some of the companions had followed suit and taken native noblewomen in marriage when Alexander wed Roxane in Bactria.³¹

More indicative of our state of ignorance is the small percentage of nuptials that are actually known: just eight of the ninety-two grooms (8.7%). Or, to state it differently, there is no way of telling which of the Greek or Macedonian (high) commanders did *not* get married (if any). Arrian, apparently, only provided the names of those he deemed most important. Yet we hear nothing of Meleager or Polyperchon, or of the royal bodyguards (*somatophylakes*), such as Peucestas or Peithon, Lysimachus or Leonnatus — to name but a few. It is certainly inconceivable that *none* of them were given Persian brides if we have to account for an additional eighty-four anonymous commanders. While this small percentage of known nuptials should serve as a warning about our state of ignorance, modern scholars have on the contrary concluded that the silence of our sources indicates that the overwhelming majority of these marriages were eventually dissolved.

In light of the silence of the extant sources, restraint would actually be commendable. Mahaffy merely stated about Ptolemy's bride Artakama that she 'disappears from history without another trace'.³² Macurdy was

²⁹ Athen. 12.54 (538B-539A = Chares, *FGrHist* 367 F16).

³⁰ For Thais, *e.g.*, see: Diod. 17.72; Curt. 5.7.3-11; Plut. *Alex.* 38; Athen. 13.576D-E (ἡ Θαῖς ... Πτολεμαίῳ ἐγαμήθη, "Thais ... was married to Ptolemy"); Just., *Epit.* 1.2.7, 15.2; *Syll.*³ no. 314 (B) = *IG* V.2 550; *RE* s.v. 'Thaïs', 2nd ser. V.1 1185; Beloch (1912-27) IV.2 181-182; Macurdy (1932) 102; Seibert (1967) 77-78; Pomeroy (1984) 13; Ogden (1999) 68-69, 231-233, 240-243; Müller (2009) 22; van Oppen (2011) 84-85, n. 7 (with lit.). Lagus, Ptolemy's son with Thais, was old enough to win a chariot race at the Arcadian Lycaea in 308/7 BCE.

³¹ Diod. 17 (ὅς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρασθεὶς Ῥωξάνης τῆς Ὀξυάρτου ἔγημεν αὐτὴν καὶ τῶν φίλων πολλοὺς ἔπεισε γῆμαι τὰς τῶν ἐπισήμων βαρβάρων θυγατέρας, "How Alexander, falling in love with Oxyartes' daughter Roxane, married her, and persuaded many of his friends to marry the daughters of distinguished barbarians"); Bosworth (1988) 156.

³² Mahaffy (1899) 34; cf. Berve (1926) II 52, no. 97 ("Von ihrem weiteren Schicksal wissen wir nichts, vermögen auch nicht zu sagen, ob A[rtakama] noch am Leben war, als Ptolemaios 321 sich mit Antipaters Tochter Eurydike verband"); Müller (2009) 22 n. 25 ("Artakama verschwindet ab 323 aus den Quellen").

even more succinct, saying that her “fate is not known”, although in a previous passage she let slip that Artacama “would have been of no political value to him in Egypt”.³³ Bevan, nonetheless, speculated that “Ptolemy quietly discarded her after Alexander’s death, when he left Babylon for Egypt”.³⁴ “Since nothing else is heard of Artacama”, Ellis concurs, “it seems likely that Ptolemy repudiated her shortly after Alexander’s death”, and in a later passage adds, “he never took to Persian ways”.³⁵ The point is repeated countless in modern scholarship, often without further elucidation.³⁶ Bengtson even avowed that she played no role in Ptolemy’s (personal) life.³⁷

Whitehorne asserts that “ancient Greek sensibilities” would have compelled Ptolemy to set aside a previous wife after taking another woman in marriage and moreover that an earlier marriage would be “automatically annulled” by a subsequent marriage.³⁸ Bouché-Leclercq maintained that Artacama “probably never set foot in Egypt”, and by way of explanation added that, “due to her nationality, she could only have been unpopular”.³⁹ He also volunteered that Artacama may have died before Ptolemy married Eurydice.⁴⁰ Berve likewise considered the possibility that Apame may have passed away by the time that Seleucus married Stratonice (300 BCE).⁴¹ Though Malalas indeed claims as much,⁴² it is disproven by an honorary decree for Apame from Didyma (299 BCE).⁴³ All the more surprising, then,

³³ Macurdy (1932) 77, 102.

³⁴ Bevan (1927) 51-52.

³⁵ Ellis (1994) 15, 27.

³⁶ Beloch (1912-27) IV.2 178; Tarn (1948) I 111; Seibert (1967) 72; Brosius (1996) 78; Ogden (1999) 69; Hölbl (2001) 14; Heckel (2006) 56; cf. Huß (2001) 92 (mentioning her marriage and nothing more).

³⁷ Bengtson (1975) 14.

³⁸ Whitehorne (1994) 114 (using the example to explain that Ptolemy VIII must have divorced from Cleopatra II when recognizing his child with her daughter Cleopatra III).

³⁹ Bouché-Leclercq (1903-07) I 6-8, at p. 7 n. 1: “De toutes ces unions contractées par ordre, il n’y eut de durable que celle de Cratère, dont la femme, Amastris, épousa plus tard Lysimaque, et celle de Séleucos. Artacama ou Apama ne mit probablement jamais le pied en Egypte, où, vu sa nationalité, elle n’aurait pu être qu’impopulaire”.

⁴⁰ Bouché-Leclercq (1903-07) I 26.

⁴¹ Berve (1926) II 52, no. 98: “vielleicht war sie im Jahre 300, als Seleukos die Stratonike heiratete, schon gestorben”; *pace* Bouché-Leclercq (1913-14) I 35.

⁴² Malal. 8.83b = 253 (198 Dind: τελευτησάσης τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς Ἀπάμας τῆς ἐκ Πάρθων, ἑωρακῶς ἐφίλησεν ἄλλην Στρατονίκην ὀνόματι, κόρην εὐπρεπῇ πάνυ, θυγατέρα Δημητρίου, “after his wife Apame from Parthia had died, [Seleucus] beheld and fell in love with another called Stratonice, an altogether attractive girl, the daughter of Demetrius”).

⁴³ *Supra* n. 25; Bengtson (1975) 39, 54, could not decide.

that Heckel still reiterates Berve's mistaken notion,⁴⁴ while Sherwin-White and Kuhrt admit the possibility — if only parenthetically.⁴⁵ Grainger painstakingly elucidates that Seleucus actually did not repudiate Apame “because of the birth of their son” or “it may be [because of] the result of mutual affection”.⁴⁶ For Macurdy, however, Seleucus' marriage to Stratonice meant that “Apama was put away from her position as chief queen”.⁴⁷

Plutarch makes it clear that Ptolemy I was polygamous and kept his concurrent wives in honor, but that Berenice I was held in greatest esteem among the king's wives.⁴⁸ Obviously, Plutarch believed that more than two wives lived in the Alexandrian palace. That is to say, besides Eurydice and Berenice, both Thais and Artacama must have joined Ptolemy's court in Egypt. With the risk of overstating my case, I would rather suggest that most Persian wives remained with their Susan grooms until their deaths, regardless of whether the Successors later married other women.

An illuminating case might be provided by the marriage of Eumenes and Artonis, a sister of Artacama.⁴⁹ Modern historians either ignore her or, worse, make a special pleading to discount the evidence. Anson's recent biography of Eumenes, for example, never mentions Artonis by name.⁵⁰ Her brother Pharnabazus, incidentally, had joined Eumenes' forces as cavalry commander.⁵¹ Plutarch relates that after Eumenes was executed on the orders of Antigonos, his ashes were delivered in a silver urn to his wife and children (317/6 BCE).⁵² “Given the age of Eumenes”, Heckel contends, Plutarch's statement “could refer to the family Eumenes left behind when he went to Asia”.⁵³ As a consequence of his

⁴⁴ Heckel (2006) 39; cf. Ogden (1999) 120-121.

⁴⁵ Sherwin-White & Kuhrt (1993) 26.

⁴⁶ Grainger (1997) 9, *s.v.* ‘Antiochos I’.

⁴⁷ Macurdy (1932) 78.

⁴⁸ Plut. *Comp. Demetr. Ant.* 4.1, & *Pyrrh.* 4.4; van Oppen (2011) 84-85; cf. Beloch (1912-27) IV.2 178; Cary (1951) 250; Seibert (1967) 72; Bengtson (1975) 15; Collins (1997) 444; Ogden (1999) 69; Hölbl (2001) 14.

⁴⁹ Diod. 16.52.4; Brosius (1996) 78; *supra* n. 17.

⁵⁰ Anson (2004) 46 (“a noble Persian woman”), 190 (“his wife”, without explanation whether she is the same as the former or not).

⁵¹ Plut. *Eum.* 7.

⁵² Plut. *Eum.* 19.2 (τὰ λείψανα συνθέντας εἰς ἀργυρᾶν ὑδρίαν κομίζειν, ἀποδοθησόμενα τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς παισίν); cf. Diod. 19.44.2; Beloch (1912-27) IV.1 115.

⁵³ Heckel (2006) 56.

unfounded assumption that Artonis had been repudiated, Heckel thus has to imagine an earlier marriage (of which neither Plutarch nor Nepos show any awareness). If Eumenes had left his family behind, one could well wonder if his estranged wife would have been pleased to receive his remains almost two decades later. Would it not be easier supposing that Artonis had not been repudiated and survived her husband?

While some scholars, such as Bouché-Leclercq or Berve, assume that some of the Persian noblewomen had died before the Successors remarried, most modern historians simply suppose that the Susan brides were repudiated.⁵⁴ Otherwise, Beloch presumed, the Asiatic women were at best treated as concubines.⁵⁵ Bosworth even asserts as a matter of fact that the bridegrooms were less than happy with the nuptials;⁵⁶ Ogden even claims that Alexander *forced* the Persian brides upon his Macedonian officers;⁵⁷ earlier Cary found it “significant that at Alexander’s death all his high officers except Seleucus dismissed the Oriental wives whom they had taken at the king’s bidding”.⁵⁸ The implication being that the Macedonians only reluctantly accepted the marriages.⁵⁹ Bosworth continues, moreover, to speculate that taking brides of the vanquished Persians was considered degrading and that such hostility explains why most unions did not last beyond Alexander’s death. In all, it would appear that scholars are searching for an answer to a question of their own devising.

Considering how little we actually do know about the lives of most women in Antiquity, even royal women, modern historians should rather ask: why *would* we expect that ancient authors wrote anything about the Susan brides? Queens like Olympias or Eurydice, Cleopatra or Roxane, who have made their presence felt in the historical narrative, are exceptional. “None of the Persian ladies”, apart from Apame, “is recorded playing any role in the age of the Successors”,⁶⁰ precisely because

⁵⁴ Brosius (1996) 78; Ogden (1999) 69 (although in n. 50 he acknowledges that the assumption cannot be proven); Hölbl (2001) 14; *supra* n. 36.

⁵⁵ Beloch (1912-27) IV.1 35 (“Die Offiziere ... haben fast ausnahmslos ihre asiatischen Frauen verstoßen oder als Keksweiber behandelt, sobald Alexander gestorben war”).

⁵⁶ Bosworth (1988) 157.

⁵⁷ Ogden (1999) 6.

⁵⁸ Cary (1951) 250.

⁵⁹ So, too: Beloch (1912-27) IV.1 35 (“Die Offiziere fügten sich zum Teil nur widerstrebend dem Wunsche des Königs”).

⁶⁰ Bosworth (1988) 157.

ancient historians found hardly a thing worth mentioning in the subsequent careers of the Susan brides or their children.

This is why we do hear about the further career of Craterus' bride Amastris. After the Lamian War, Antipater offered Craterus his daughter Phila in marriage (322 BCE), though he soon fell in battle against Eumenes (320 BCE).⁶¹ Historians misleadingly argue that Craterus preferred Phila, because he was devoted to Macedonian tradition.⁶² He married her because she was the daughter of Antipater and their union thus offered him diplomatic and political advantages. Photius, citing Memnon, might indicate that Amastris was not so much abandoned, but had offered herself to Dionysius of Heraclea with Craterus' consent.⁶³ If so, it would have been Amastris who had separated from Craterus. After the death of the Heraclidean dynast (306/5 BCE), furthermore, she ruled as regent for her eldest son Clearchus.⁶⁴ She then married Lysimachus (302 BCE), resided at her husband's court for some time, but eventually returned to Heraclea (*ca.* early 280s? BCE), founded a synoecism in her own name on the Paphlagonian coast, issued coinage, and continued to rule until she was drowned by her sons Clearchus and Oxyathres (*ca.* 285 BCE).⁶⁵ She was, in short, an astute and assertive woman, who took an opportunity when she saw one.

Conversely, if the majority of the Macedonian commanders did in fact repudiate their Persian wives, one would expect that the ancient historians would have found this noteworthy. Perhaps the modern scholarly assumption that none of the Susan marriages lasted is a corollary of what Ogden aptly calls the "monogamy fallacy".⁶⁶ In this context it is, for instance, difficult to understand what Droysen meant when he maintained that Roxane was Alexander's only 'legitimate wife'.⁶⁷ Since many

⁶¹ Diod. 18.18.7.

⁶² Bosworth (1988) 157.

⁶³ Phot., *Bibl. cod.* 224 §5 (884-885 PGM) = Memn., *FGrHist* 434 F4.4: Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀποπτόντος, καὶ Κρατεροῦ πρὸς Φίλαν τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου ἀποκλίναντος, γνώμη τοῦ λιπόντος Διονυσίου ἡ Ἀμαστρίς συνοικίζεται, "When Alexander had departed from this world and while Craterus turned toward Antipater's daughter Phila, with the consent of the one who left Amastris was married to Dionysius".

⁶⁴ Memn., *FGrHist* 434 F4.8; Burstein (1976) 75-83, 141-142 n. 17.

⁶⁵ Diod. 20.109.7; Strabo 12.3.10 (544); Memn., *FGrHist* 434 F4.9-5.4; Polyae. 6.12; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀμαστρίς; *Hist. Num.*² 505-506; Beloch (1912-27) IV.1 162-163, 214, 233, IV.2 129-130; Burstein (1976) 83-86, 93-94; Lund (1992) 75, 82, 88, 188; Dmitriev (2007) 144-145; *supra* n. 22. I will elsewhere return to the marriage of Lysimachus and Amastris, as well as his other wives.

⁶⁶ Ogden (1999) xvi-xviii.

⁶⁷ Droysen (1833) 497 n. 37: "Nur Roxane war ebenbürtige und rechtmäßige Gemahlin Alexanders und wenigstens im folgenden Jahre bei ihm".

of Alexander's Successors would eventually marry other women, at any rate, the doctrine became that the Susan brides must first have been repudiated. For instance, Beloch reckoned that Stratonice, rather than Apame, was meant to give birth to the Seleucid heir, because Demetrius would hardly have given his daughter away merely to become Seleucus' concubine.⁶⁸ Although Cary allows that "the Hellenistic monarchs on first impression [present] greater affinities to Oriental sultans than to European kings", "on closer inspection", he countered, "polygamy in the Oriental sense was not practiced among the Hellenistic kings".⁶⁹ Berve imagined that Alexander's marriages at Susa aroused Roxane's passionate jealousy, which turned murderous after the king's death when she killed Statira and Drypetis.⁷⁰ Even though historians now recognize that Alexander's Successors were — or could be — polygamous, the knock-on effect about the repudiation of the Susan brides has thus far resisted revision.⁷¹

Some scholars contend that the Macedonians actually resented their Persian wives.⁷² This belief can be traced back to Beloch, who combined the monogamist misapprehension with a xenophobic sentiment when arguing that even Seleucus abandoned his Persian wife Apame, in favor of Stratonice.⁷³ Even earlier Grote had insisted that Alexander was obliged "to soften the aversion of the soldiers generally towards these Asiatising marriages", by "discharging their debts".⁷⁴ Arrian admits that the Susa nuptials were not pleasing to many of the Macedonians, even those who were married themselves, for being held in Persian, rather than traditional Macedonian fashion.⁷⁵ But this statement comes in a

⁶⁸ Beloch (1912-27) IV.1 198, IV.2 304; cf. Plut. *Demetr.* 31.3.

⁶⁹ Cary (1951) 250 (even maintaining that Demetrius I held only a single wife at court at a time).

⁷⁰ Berve (1926) II 347 ("leidenschaftliche Eifersucht").

⁷¹ Cf. Kuhrt & Sherwin-White (1987) 6-7; Braund (2003) 24; Heckel (2008) 138-139; Müller (2009) 22.

⁷² Pace Beloch (1912-27) IV.1 35; Bosworth (1988) 157; cf. Heckel (2008) 139.

⁷³ Beloch (1912-27) IV.2 304 ("Von allen Nachfolgern Alexanders aber hat nur Seleukos nach Alexanders Tode die persische Gemahlin behalten, die er auf Befehl des Königs hatte heiraten müssen; er hatte auf die Gefühle seiner barbarischen Untertanen Rücksicht zu nehmen, so lange sein Reich auf die oberen Satrapien beschränkt war. Sobald er aber an der Küste des Mittelmeeres Fuß gefaßt hatte, hat auch er eine griechische Gemahlin genommen, also Apame verstoßen").

⁷⁴ Grote (1856) 324-325.

⁷⁵ Arr. *Anab.* 7.6.2 (τοὺς γάμους ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῷ Περσικῷ ποιηθέντας οὐ πρὸς θυμοῦ γενέσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν γημάντων ἔστιν οἷς); cf. Carney (1996); Hoff (2002).

passage in which Arrian discusses Alexander's adoption of Persian customs and Median costumes. It may well be that some — or even many — Macedonians were displeased by Alexander's apparent Orientalization.⁷⁶ Arrian moreover ascertains that the mass wedding ceremony proved Alexander's affection for his companions and was popular among the grooms, not in the least because they felt honored by being placed on the same level as the king.⁷⁷ When Alexander had married Roxane in Bactria, several of his companions had similarly married native noblewomen.⁷⁸ Intermarriage between Macedonians and Persians dates back at least to the fifth century BCE, when Macedon had become a Persian tributary kingdom; Greeks in Asia Minor and elsewhere, will likewise have married native women for centuries.⁷⁹ What is more, at the Susa ceremony, over ten thousand relationships were formally recognized between common soldiers and the local (Asiatic) women they had met along the expedition.⁸⁰ Granting individual exceptions, Macedonians were evidently not averse to marrying foreign women. Lysimachus would later marry Amastris, in addition to Nicaea, Arsinoe and the Persian noblewoman he doubtless received at Susa. If many of Alexander's commanders and soldiers had maintained Asiatic wives or mistresses even before the Susa wedding ceremony, there is no reason to believe that they suddenly came to resent their Susan brides so much that they all abandoned them as soon as Alexander had died.

Tarn was correct, of course, when pointing out that many of Alexander's generals were to die within mere years.⁸¹ First Hephæstion (324)

⁷⁶ For Alexander's motives 'fusing' Graeco-Macedonian and Persian-Median culture, see: Droysen (1833) 495-497 = (1877-78) I.2 241-243; Tarn (1948) II 399-499; Berve (1938); Hampl (1954); Badian (1958), & (1976) 280-286; Schachermeyr (1973) 479-487, & (1976); Bosworth (1980); Singor (2010) 135 ("een pijnlijke vergissing" [a painful mistake]).

⁷⁷ Arr. *Anab.* 7.4.7 (καὶ τοῦτο, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, ἔδοξε δημοτικόν τε καὶ φιλέταιρον πρᾶξαι Ἀλέξανδρον), 7.6.2 (τῇ ἰσότητι τῇ ἐς τὸν βασιλέα μεγάλως τετιμημένοις).

⁷⁸ Diod. 17 ind. λ'; *Epit. Metz.* 28-31; Bosworth (1988) 156; Ogden (1999) 44.

⁷⁹ Tarn (1951) 34-39; Walbank (1951); Vatin (1970) 115-144; Hammond (1972-88) II 59, III 104; Carney (1996) 566; Patteson (2010) esp. 109-123; Gruen (2012) esp. 253-276.

⁸⁰ Arr. *Anab.* 7.4.8 (καὶ ὅσοι δὲ ἄλλοι ἡγμένοι ἦσαν Μακεδόνες τῶν Ἀσιανῶν τινὰς γυναικῶν, ἀπογραφῇναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ τούτων τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, καὶ τούτοις ὄψεαι Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐδόθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς γάμοις); Niese (1893-1903) I 166.

⁸¹ Tarn (1948) I 111 ("It was an attempt to promote the fusion of Europe and Asia by intermarriage. Little came of it, for many of the bridegrooms were soon to die, and many others repudiated their Asiatic wives after Alexander's death").

and then Alexander himself passed away (323); their wives Drypetis and Statira were killed by Roxane; if Parysatis befell the same fate is not known. Then, many other of Alexander's companions died, mostly in battle against each other. First off, Meleager still at Babylon (323), next Leonnatus (322), then Craterus, Neoptolemus and Perdiccas (320), and his brother Alcetas soon after (319). Amastris married Dionysius with Craterus' approval; what became of Perdiccas' unnamed wife is not known, but maybe she turned to her brother Atropates in Media. In the following years Cleitus the White (318), Eumenes (317/6), Antigenes and Peithon (316) all died. Artonis (I have argued) received Eumenes' remains; if any of the other commanders had wives and what happened to them the sources do not tell. The precise date of Peucestas' death remains unclear (*post* 316/5). Then Polyperchon, Antigonus and Nearchus died (*ca.* 300). Two decades later, Ptolemy (282), Lysimachus (281) and Seleucus (280) were the last of Alexander's Successors to meet their deaths. If their Persian wives were still alive, they would have been at least in their sixties around this time. The point, in short, is that like Apame and Artonis, I would rather argue that Artacama remained with her husband, and I would similarly suggest that most of the other Macedonian generals retained their Susan brides.

In the case of the alleged repudiation of the Susan brides the evidentiary axiom would well seem to apply that 'absence of evidence is not evidence of absence'. Modern scholars tend to assume that the surviving sources would have recorded their presence if Alexander's Successors had not divorced their Persian wives. In my view, ancient authors would only have deemed these women worthy of mention if they or their children played any historically important role. Like Alexander, furthermore, his Successors practiced polygamy and thus had no reason to repudiate any of their wives when they subsequently married other women. There is, in other words, no need to offer farfetched explanations for the silence in our sources about the subsequent careers of the Susan brides. I find it troublesome furthermore that certain historians discount or distort existing evidence when it disproves their doctrines.

Several other conclusions can be drawn from this historiographical analysis. Only eight of the ninety-two bridegrooms and just seven of the hundred brides are known by name. Of these eight grooms, Alexander, Hephaestion, Craterus, Perdiccas and Eumenes were all soon to die. Nearchus, Ptolemy and Seleucus lived significantly longer. Of the brides, Statira and Drypetis were killed; Amastris divorced Craterus (or *vice*

versa); Artonis survived Eumenes; and Apame became the mother of the Seleucid dynasty. I have argued that Artacama, like Thais, joined Ptolemy's court in Egypt; and it would seem safe to assume that most other Susan brides likewise remained with their husbands. To be sure, that also means that other Successors, such as Lysimachus, had been given brides at Susa from the Persian nobility — and retained them after Alexander's death. The present note may thus serve as a general warning about the intricacies of (early-) Hellenistic marital practices, an area in which much remains uncertain — and much work needs to be done.⁸²

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⁸² At the closing of the manuscript, one of the reviewers drew my attention to contributions in a volume edited by Alonso Troncoso & Anson (2013) that deal with related issues. Especially the essays by Meeus, Müller and Olbrycht would have been valuable, if I would have had access to the publication. I regret not being able to incorporate their ideas, which doubtless would have further improved the present argumentation.

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ENDOWMENTS AND TAXATION IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Abstract: This paper suggests that a number of well known Hellenistic endowments were crafted in such a way that, in addition to the pious purposes that they served, they also allowed founders and elite peers to limit tax-liability by sheltering real estate from the possibility of assessment for taxation.

In 185 BC, Eumenes II proposed to give 120 talents of silver to the Achaean League on condition that they be lent at interest and the income used to pay salaries to *boule* members at federal sessions.¹ The endowment would have been enormous,² four times larger than the largest Hellenistic fund attested on stone,³ 30 percent of Athens' allied tribute at the start of the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 2.13.3),⁴ around three metric tons of silver.⁵ This was an astounding sum of cash, and yet it was sharply rejected:⁶

After them [Eumenes' ambassadors] Apollonidas the Sicyonian stood up and said that, as to the sum of the money given, the gift was worthy

¹ Plb. 22.7.3: ἐξαπεστάλκει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης πρεσβευτάς, ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι τάλαντα δώσειν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, ἐφ' ᾧ, δανειζομένων τούτων, ἐκ τῶν τόκων μισθοδοτεῖσθαι τὴν βουλὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς κοιναῖς συνόδοις. Brief discussion at Laum, *Stiftungen* I 35-36.

² Walbank (1979) III 187, suggests that Diodoros' figure of 20 talents (29.17) is incorrect. Even if it is correct, and Polybios' wrong, the endowment would still have been massive by ancient standards.

³ Bringmann, *Schenkungen* 286[E] [Laum, *Stiftungen* 129b]. Cf. Kleine (1986); Schaaf (1992) 62-72. On relative sizes of endowments: Laum, *Stiftungen* I 140-142.

⁴ 10 percent of Athens' annual revenue stream under Lycurgus: [Plut.] *X Orat.* 842F; Burke (1985); Habicht (1997) 23: "[T]he figure," 1200 talents, "is clearly documented and trustworthy."

⁵ 4.3 grams (1 Attic drachma) × 6000 (= 1 talent) × 120 = 3,096,000 grams.

⁶ Plb. 22.8.1-8, 13: μεθ' οὗς Ἀπολλωνίδας ὁ Σικυνώνιος ἀναστὰς κατὰ μὲν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν διδομένων χρημάτων ἀξίαν ἔφη τὴν δωρεὰν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ διδόντος καὶ τὴν χρείαν, εἰς ἣν δίδεται, πασῶν αἰσχίστην καὶ παρανοματώτην. τῶν γὰρ νόμων κωλύοντων μηθένα μήτε (τῶν) ἰδιωτῶν μήτε τῶν ἀρχόντων παρὰ βασιλέως δῶρα λαμβάνειν κατὰ μὴδ' ὁποῖαν πρόφασιν, πάντας ἅμα δωροδοκεῖσθαι προφανῶς, προσδεξαμένους τὰ χρήματα, πάντων εἶναι παρανομάτατον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις αἰσχιστον ὁμολογουμένως. τὸ γὰρ ὀψωνιάζεσθαι τὴν βουλὴν ὑπ' Εὐμένων καθ' ἑκάστον ἔτος καὶ βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν καταπεπωκότας οἰοῖναι δέλεαρ, πρόδηλον ἔχειν τὴν αἰσχύνην καὶ τὴν βλάβην. νῦν μὲν γὰρ Εὐμένη διδόναι χρήματα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Προυσίαν δώσειν, καὶ πάλιν Σέλευκον. τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων ἐναντίαν φύσιν ἐχόντων τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις, καὶ τῶν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων διαβουλιῶν αἰεὶ γινομένων (περὶ τῶν) πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἡμῖν διαφερόντων, φανερώς ἀνάγκη δεῖν θάτερον ἢ τὸ τῶν βασιλέων λυσιτελεῖς ἐπίπροσθεν γίνεσθαι τοῦ (κατ') ἰδίαν συμφέροντος ἢ

of the Achaeans, but that, as to the intention of the giver and the end to which he gave, it was the most shameful and illegal of all things. For since the laws forbade anyone, private citizen or magistrate, to take gifts from a king on any pretext, that everyone at once should be given bribes openly and take money was the most illegal thing of all, and in addition the most shameful, as all would agree. For that the *boule* should be provisioned by Eumenes every year and take counsel regarding federal matters, as if having fallen on a snare, obviously entailed shame and injury. For now Eumenes gave money, but afterwards Prousius would give, and then Seleucus. And since matters of state for kings and democracies have an opposing nature, and since most and the greatest debates always arise over our differences from kings, clearly one of two things must happen: either the profit of the kings will come before our own advantage or, if this does not happen, we shall seem to all as ungrateful, acting against our own paymasters. Wherefore he asked the Achaeans not only to refuse the gift, but also to hate Eumenes for the intent of his gift. ...

[8.13] After these speeches had taken place, the crowd came to such a point that no one dared side with the king, but all with a shout threw out the gift that had been extended, although it seemed to be a difficult thing to look in the eye and reject, owing to the quantity of funds that had been extended.

Why decline? According to Apollonidas, since private individuals and magistrates were forbidden by law from taking gifts from kings, it would be worse for the entire council to do so (8.3). Rigorous maintenance of this logic would have prevented the League from entering into any relationship with kings under which a 'gift' was conferred. But giving is what kings did.⁷ The burden of the law, as Apollonidas describes, seems rather to have been to hamper individuals from bankrolling policy initiatives through independent negotiation with kings.⁸

Apollonidas continues (8.4) that it would be shameful if the members of the League's autonomous deliberative body were to be provisioned

τούτου μὴ συμβαίνοντος ἀχαρίστους φαίνεσθαι πᾶσιν, ἀντιπράττοντας τοῖς αὐτῶν μισθοδόταις, διὸ μὴ μόνον ἀπέιπασθαι παρεκάλει τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖν τὸν Εὐμένην διὰ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῆς δόσεως. ... [8.13] Τοιοῦτων δὲ γενομένων λόγων, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παρέστη τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε μὴ τολμῆσαι μηθένα συνεπεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ, πάντας δὲ μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐκβαλεῖν τὴν προτεινομένην δωρεάν, καίτοι δοκούσης αὐτῆς ἔχειν τι δυσαντοφθάλμητον διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προτεινομένων χρημάτων. Cf. Bringmann, *Schenkungen* 68[L]; not in Laum, *Stiftungen*.

⁷ Ma (1999) 179-242. Bringmann (2000) 126-133, sees this episode primarily as a failure of gift-giving, not a miscalculated attempt at high-level political interference.

⁸ As Apollonidas' fellow Sicyonian Aratus is thought to have done: Bringmann, *Schenkungen* 68[L] p. 116, also 64[L], 74[L]; Larsen (1968) 235 n. 2.

(ὁψωνιάζεσθαι) like soldiers.⁹ Moreover, acceptance would set a dangerous precedent. Other kings would want to cement relations similarly (8.5), so that the League might find itself unable to pay competing debts of gratitude. Lawmakers on a king's payroll must one day either vote with him and against themselves, or else bite the hand that feeds (8.7). Their fears were not notional. Prusias and Eumenes were at war, and at that same session envoys from Seleukos came to renew an alliance, bringing a gift of 10 military vessels, and Lykortas reported on the League's renewal of an alliance with Ptolemy. Now, the League had many, and quite different, alliances with Ptolemaic Egypt, and found itself unable to verify which one its envoys had renewed! How, then, would they ever navigate competing debts of *charis* owed to multiple kings?¹⁰ Anyway, it knew what to do with the ships: turn them away, just as it had Eumenes' money. To fund the *boule* this way would have compromised deliberative autonomy, diplomatic relations, or both. Apollonidas' apprehension was in keeping with Hellenistic sensibilities. While endowed civic offices would not be uncommon under the Roman Empire,¹¹ they were effectively alien to the Hellenistic *polis*. Hellenistic benefactors, royal or not, endowed cult, gymnasia, competitions, distributions of commodities, schools, etc.,¹² but not the branches or offices of civic government. Apollonidas' argument, in other words, has sounded to most, and rightly, like authentic political ideology, "pristine virtue," even.¹³

The economic dimension of the episode, however, has received rather less attention. First, we may assume that this endowment, like most in the period, lent its capital at ten percent per year (perhaps lower, but in any case almost certainly not higher). We do not know the size of the Achaean council. But even if it numbered as high as, say, one hundred, the endowment would have paid out 720 drachmas per year, per member,¹⁴ more than two years' pay for a working man. The councilmen weren't such,¹⁵ but this was not a trivial sum.¹⁶ Moreover, the endowment would have affected the

⁹ Cf. Plb. 15.25.11, 23.8.4, also 1.66.7, 69.7; Walbank (1979) III 189.

¹⁰ Plb 22.7.4, 9.13 (Seleukos), 9.1-12 (Ptolemy).

¹¹ Laum, *Stiftungen* I p. 35. Dmitriev (2005) 218-223, esp. 222 with n. 23.

¹² Laum, *Stiftungen* I 60-115.

¹³ E.g. Bringmann (1994) 21-22; *CAH*² VII.1 72. Champion (2004) 152-153 (pristine virtue).

¹⁴ 120 T at 10% earned 12 T = 72,000 dr. p.a.

¹⁵ On League leadership: O'Neil (1984-1986).

¹⁶ The frequency of league assembly in this period is unknown — at least four times per year, though — so that we cannot easily convert notional annual wages into rates per assembly.

credit market significantly, merely by releasing into circulation 120 talents of cash for reduced-rate loan.¹⁷ On one view, Achaean councilmen may have been anxious over the negative impact that these reduced-rate loans would have had on their own lending operations.¹⁸ We cannot test the claim, but it has the uncommon virtue of considering the economic impact of the endowment from the point of view of the borrower.

Another does the same: “The men of wealth who controlled the League presumably realized that they would end up having to borrow the money themselves.”¹⁹ On this notion, even *borrowing* from an endowment was a kind of liturgical service, a voluntary act that everyone knew was not so voluntary. Ancient endowments have long been seen as belonging to the domain that includes euergetism, *philotimia*, liturgical service,²⁰ and so, intrusive on elite wealth, serving the same fiscal ends that other types of taxation *qua* formalized giving did. Moreover, ancient witnesses to endowments speak overwhelmingly of ostensible purposes — to fund cult, to provide oil, etc. — so that scholars tend also to think about what endowments *did* solely in terms of what they spent their income on. This tendency is so strong that even when faced with Apollonidas’ very plausible argument against letting outside money taint the integrity of an autonomous political body, some still find it appealing to explain the rejection with the notion that borrowing from endowments was a compulsory service.

It is easy to accept that Eumenes had ulterior motives, as any founder, royal or not, may have had; but the polities that accepted endowments, and citizens who borrowed from them, were no less mindful of self-interest. According to one study, the specific requirements and conditions of lending operations under a pair of Delphic endowments suggest that they were created so as to offer (almost exclusively) wealthy land-owners access to “cut-rate, agio-free loans of expensive foreign capital” that was in effect “insulat[ed]...from the pressures of supply and demand in the Delphic currency market;”²¹ that their spending requirements offered the population at large the modest short-term benefit of subsidized

¹⁷ On the significance of endowments in borrowing markets see Gabrielsen (2008) 121-124; (2005) 142-144. Chankowski (2005) esp. 71, 84-85; (2007) 102-104, 105-106.

¹⁸ Larsen (1959) 366-367.

¹⁹ Millett (1991) 238.

²⁰ On *philotimia*: Laum, *Stiftungen* I p. 44; Schaaf (1992) 13-15. On the epigraphic footprint of the term in Athens see Whitehead (1983) 55-74.

²¹ Sosin (2004) 191-196, quotes at 195, 196.

cult, while their investment regime secured access to significant, year-round, financial benefits for a very small and wealthy sliver of society. In some cases, borrowing from endowments was the very opposite of financial hardship, and creating them, even more so. Attention to this operational side of endowments allows us to reconstruct an important chapter in the history of elite economic behavior in the Hellenistic period, revealing a pattern of industrious, innovative, and informed efforts to secure economic benefits not only for founders but also for those who perpetuated endowments through borrowing or leasing, even at the expense of state revenues.

ENDOWMENTS AND 'VOLUNTARY' SERVICE

Whether legally cognizant of endowments or not, antiquity was well acquainted with the phenomenon:²² a person(s) transfers assets, real or liquid, to an entity (a god, a polity, a group) on condition that they be invested (on terms often stipulated) and their returns spent in specified ways. A reader today will think of the Trajanic *alimenta* or any one of the famous Hellenistic family cult foundations that have drawn so much interesting scholarship,²³ but we know of several hundred endowments from antiquity.²⁴ Greek and Roman endowments were many and did good.

But doing good is not a simple matter. The relationship between charitable giving and taxation is fraught. And was. As Christ has argued, concerning classical Athenian 'tax' obligations, "not all men were equally drawn" by *philotimia* to make such 'voluntary' contributions "and even those who were enticed by it prudently balanced the pursuit of honor with the preservation of wealth."²⁵ Even as wealthy elites boasted contributions

²² Ziebarth, art. 'Stiftungen', *RE* suppl. VII 1236: "Stiftungen 'im modernen Sinne' d.h. Zweckvermögen, welche niemand als sich selbst an gehören, sind dem klassischen Recht durchaus fremd;" see his pioneering 1906 article in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*. Note, however, that of the so-called Delian vase-endowments, which Ziebarth knew well, Bringmann (2000) 84–85, observed, "Bei ihnen handelt es sich um Stiftungen im genauen juristischen Sinn des Wortes." By one recent count, the United States is home to well over 100,000 private foundations: <http://nccs.urban.org/statistics/index.cfm>, accessed 09/11/2012. For an account of their impact in the world economy see Fleishman (2007).

²³ *Alimenta*, e.g. Criniti (1991), Woolf (1990); family cult, e.g. Bruck (1926), Kamps (1937), Pomeroy (1997a) 113, and (1997b); Wittenburg (1998) and (1990) on Epikteta's family association (*IG* XII.3 330).

²⁴ Laum, *Stiftungen*, still.

²⁵ Christ (2006) 144–145.

to the Athenian *polis*, they also complained of unfairness, labored within a state-sanctioned legal process (*antidosis*) to displace liabilities onto peers whose shoulders they claimed were more capable, and hid wealth from the prospect of assessment.²⁶ Reluctant contributors to the common weal were not bad citizens but rather participants in a rule-bound game,²⁷ under which (a) some would strive to minimize liability by concealing wealth and/or initiating *antidosis*, (b) the state could be confident that someone would, in the end, serve, and (c) anyone who failed to avoid or transfer the obligation to serve, or was disinclined to try, was welcome to boast that his donations grew from a generous spirit rather than a lack of alternatives.²⁸ *Antidosis* was a recognized legal procedure, Athenians never formulated law against wealth-concealing techniques,²⁹ and despite the many claims of liturgical generosity we find no counterclaims, no assertions, for example, that another's 'generosity' was in fact begrudging remission of resources under compulsion. Formally speaking, it was generosity.

Recent decades have enjoyed a wealth of valuable work on aspects of this part of the Athenian 'tax system,' from its formal mechanisms to the

²⁶ Christ (2006) 143-204; *antidosis*: id. (1990); hid: Cohen (1992) 191-201, Gabrielsen (1987) 99-114.

²⁷ Not so called by Christ (2006), but see Kaiser (2007).

²⁸ And in some cases liturgists' demands extended beyond honor, for example, to claims for leniency in court: Lys. 20.31: οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἡμεῖς χρημάτων γε ἕνεκα, ἵνα λάβοιμεν, εὖ ὑμᾶς ἐπιιοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα, εἴ ποτε κίνδυνος εἴη ἡμῖν, ἐξαιτούμενοι παρ' ὑμῶν τὴν ἀξίαν χάριν ἀπολάβοιμεν ("For indeed, not for the sake of money — that we should receive any — were we in the habit of treating you well, but so that if ever we should face risk [i.e. prosecution in court] we might beg pardon from you and receive the fitting reward"); 25.13: καίτοι διὰ τοῦτο πλείω τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως προσταττομένων ἐδαπανώμην, ἵνα καὶ βελτίων ὦφ' ὑμῶν νομιζοίμην, καὶ εἴ ποὺ μοί τις συμφορὰ γένοιτο, ἄμεινον ἀγωνιζοίμην ("and in fact it was owing to this that I am in the habit of spending more than commanded by the city, so that I might be regarded even more highly by you and so that if ever some misfortune should befall me, I might plead my case better"); on service to the city as a social norm effectively enforced by the wide latitude afforded by Athenian courts for the introduction of extra-statutory evidence, see Lanni (2009) 704-705.

²⁹ Even statements like that at Lys. 20.23 do not rise to the level of outright condemnation of concealment: καὶ ἐξὸν αὐτῷ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀφανῆ καταστήσαντι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ὀφελεῖν, εἴλετο μᾶλλον συνειδέναι ὑμᾶς, ἢν', εἰ καὶ βούλοιο κακὸς εἶναι, μὴ ἐξεῖη αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' εἰσφέρει τε τὰς εἰσφοράς καὶ λητουργοίη ("And though it was possible for him, by rendering his property invisible, to serve you not at all, he preferred you to be privy so that, even if he should wish to be bad, it would not be possible for him, but he would both contribute *eisphora* and perform liturgies"); that the speaker's father might easily have hidden wealth but did not — a claim that may strike the reader as disingenuous — is not the same as charging another with illegality for having fallen short of his father's alleged openness.

social contexts in which they operated.³⁰ From the differing opinions as to the degree to which economic or social considerations motivated elites' participation, one very compelling conclusion can, in my opinion, be drawn: the Athenian capacity to view the discharge of 'tax' obligations as at once burden and honor, benefit and liability, is not a cultural paradox. Rather, it reflects competing needs. To maintain the economic and social foundations of their prominence, elites needed to amass capital, both liquid and social, but also to disburse it. Neither evasion nor *philotimia* reigned supreme; serious people were serious about both.

The behavior of the Athenian liturgist, I suggest, with his coexisting drives to save and to spend, to hide wealth and to flaunt it, to limit liability and boast service, offers a useful framework for interpreting ancient endowments. It invites us to analyze endowments from the point of view of founders and investors, and not merely from that of the citizens who were the beneficiaries of endowments' *returns*. Like Athenian liturgists, the elites who founded endowments and the legislators who crafted the laws under which they operated saw to both public good and personal advantage. This paper suggests that a number of well known Hellenistic endowments were crafted such that, in addition to the pious purposes that they served, they also allowed founders and elite peers to limit tax-liability by sheltering real estate from the possibility of assessment for taxation. The cases studied shed light, then, on one specific type of highly attractive benefit that endowments could offer and the kind of opportunity that the Achaean councilmen found so hard to stare in the eye and refuse: elites' use of endowments to protect and even enhance private wealth.

ENDOWMENTS AT MYLASA

For some time across the second century BC the Carian city of Mylasa experienced what looks to contemporary eyes like a real-estate boom.³¹

³⁰ Wilson (2000) 51-60. Christ (2006) 143-204, on tax evasion; id. (1990), on *antidosis*; Gabrielsen (1994); Cohen (1992) 191-201, on the invisible economy; Whitehead (1983). And from outside the field of classics, some fascinating contributions, e.g. Kaiser (2007), offering a perspective from game theory; Lyttkens (1994) and (1997).

³¹ The conventional date has long been late second / early first centuries BC: *I. Mylasa* I 111 n. on 7; Behrend (1973): 146; *I. Sinuri* 11; Dignas (2000) 118. Ashton & Reger (2006) propose the new earlier start date, to coincide with coinage reform, ca. 185 BC; Descat & Pernin (2008) agree.

A body of nearly 100 inscriptions from Mylasa and surroundings³² attest transactions, in which the tribe of the Otokondeis or other groups, very often acting on behalf of local gods, purchased land from individuals and then let the land back to those same individuals, at rates as low as what we would call 4-5%,³³ under leasehold that was often heritable (εἰς πατρικά) and transferable via cession.³⁴ Although the procedure evolved over time and may have been more varied than most have credited,³⁵ a basic procedure, which appears to have become more standard over time, is discernible;³⁶ it was similar to that followed decades earlier by Olympichos, the dynast and general of Seleukos II.³⁷ He wrote to the council and people of Mylasa, ca 240 BC, announcing his dedication to Zeus Osogo of what appear to have been considerable land holdings, which he had purchased from Queen Laodike, the wife of Antiochos II. Olympichos asked Mylasa to let these properties on heritable leasehold and to use the rents to pay for the monthly *panegyris* to the god.³⁸ Mylasa accepted and let the properties to Olympichos himself.³⁹

A close structural parallel appears at Pliny *Ep.* 7.18, where the statesman advised a friend, Caninius Rufus, on the creation of an alimentary endowment,⁴⁰ offering his own experience as a model. Pliny alienated to

³² For the texts see *I. Mylasa* I 201-232, II p. 3-4, II 801-854, 904-905 with accumulated new examples: *SEG* XLII 999; XLV 1538-1554; LIV 1094-1096; LVII 1101-1102.

³³ Thraseas sold one farm for 7000 drachmas and leased it back for a mere 300 drachmas per year: *I. Mylasa* I 212.4-5, 9-10.

³⁴ Cession: *I. Mylasa* I 208.7-12, 212.19-20, 218.7-9, 221.1-3; II 806.20, 816A.13, 816B.5, 816D.3, 819.8, 830.7, 831.1, 853.3; cession could be accompanied by written contract: *I. Mylasa* II 816D.3. Either way, the new lessee was constrained by the same obligations as the previous: *I. Mylasa* I 208.7-12; stipulations partially preserved: 212.19-20 and 218.7-9.

³⁵ See the valuable contribution by Descat & Pernin (2008).

³⁶ Described in detail by Blümel, *I. Mylasa* I p. 74-76; Dignas (2000) 119, summarizes. Much of the process is visible in *I. Mylasa* I 212.

³⁷ Billows (1995) 95-96; *I. Labraunda* p. 60.

³⁸ *I. Labraunda* 8.16-26; for the numerous corrections to Crampa's text: J. & L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* (1970) 549; Debord (1969) 387-388; Roesch (1971) 355; Habicht (1972) 166; Piejko (1990) 137.

³⁹ *I. Labraunda* 8.8-9: ἐμισθώσατο Ὀλύμπιχος αὐτὰ παρ' ἡμῶν εἰς πατρικά] ἰ τακτοῦ φόρου ἐκάστου ἔτους δραχμῶν Ἀλεξ[ανδρείων.... Cf. Dignas (2000) 123-124, following Crampa's τὰ κ' τοῦ φόρου at 9 and τὰ κ' τοῦ at 24: Olympichos "suggested that the people of Mylasa lease out the dedicated properties on a hereditary basis at an interest of 5%...;" the Roberts rightly construed τακτοῦ and τακτοῦ φόρου: *Bull. épigr.* (1970) 549 p. 340.

⁴⁰ Dignas (2000) 122 (argument recapitulated at [2002] 96-106) observes that the "Mylasean land-transfers were comparable to the Trajanic alimentary scheme," under which the state offered landowners loans, whose amounts were calculated as a fraction of

his hometown municipality a property worth more than 500,000 sesterces. He then leased the property back for 30,000 per year; the town was to spend this income on the upkeep of local youths. In closing, he observes that the gift was larger than it might seem, “since the requirement of a rent will have decreased the value of this very fine land.”⁴¹

These remarks have led some to posit that, whatever his claims, Pliny did not in fact alienate the property.⁴²

If Pliny had really ceded effective use of the estate to the city apart from his own lifetime interest, he would have been donating the whole value of the estate, not merely the HS 500,000 which was the value of his gift. It is clear from the appraisal of Pliny's losses at the end of the letter ... that this is not what took place. If the estate had now effectively belonged to the city, Pliny could have no interest in its future ‘pretium’. ... The legal status of the land in question is left unclear.

But Pliny relinquished title to the state agent: *agrum ... actori publico mancipauit*. He donated the land “instead of the 500,000 sesterces, which [he] had promised for the upkeep of well-born boys and girls” (*pro quingentis milibus nummum...*).⁴³ Although he donated the land, Pliny's situation was in other ways comparable to those of the Mylasan landowners who sold their holdings and then leased them back in perpetuity. If they wanted to vacate the leases via cession, they would not be able to get the full ‘market value’ of the properties, which carried permanent rents. So also, if Pliny wanted to convey right of enjoyment to a third party, the cession price would have to be reduced to make up for the rent that the land carried. His interest in the land's future *pretium* was clear, reasonable, and

the assessed value of the land that secured the loans. Income from the loans underwrote education and upkeep of children — hence ‘alimentary.’

⁴¹ *Nam pro quingentis milibus nummum, quae in alimenta ingenuorum ingenuarumque promiseram, agrum ex meis longe pluris actori publico mancipauit; eundem uectigali imposito recepi, tricena milia annua daturus. Per hoc enim et rei publicae sors in tuto nec reditus incertus, et ager ipse propter id quod uectigal large supercurrit, semper dominum a quo exerceatur inueniet* (“For instead of the 500,000 sesterces, which I had promised for the upkeep of free-born boys and girls, I relinquished title to a plot of my lands, which is worth much more, to the state agent. I took back the same plot with the imposition of a rent, on condition that I pay 30,000 sesterces annually. By this arrangement the commonwealth's portion is safe and the returns are guaranteed. And the plot itself, because it far exceeds its rent, will always find a landlord to manage it”).

⁴² Duncan-Jones (1982) 299 n. 2.

⁴³ It hardly seems likely that he sold the land “for 500,000 sesterces,” unless the town was so well supplied with cash that it could afford such a long horizon till profitability, or else so desperate that it had no alternative. If Pliny sold the land then the municipality did not recover its initial investment until the seventeenth year of operations.

part of his planning. The economics of Pliny's gesture differ from those of the Mylasans, inasmuch as he gave real estate and the Mylasans sold it. But they are identical in three important respects: both he and the Mylasan landowners (1) relinquished title to land, (2) entered into extended leasehold of same, (3) and reserved the right later to cede rights to that leasehold to a third party, in return for money.⁴⁴

Why would landowners have wanted to trade legal ownership of land, antiquity's most prized, stable, status-significant investment? Why would agents of the god tie up large sums of money in investments that might not begin to generate profits for years? Some have found answers in panic, suggesting that landowners, fearing pirates, sold their properties to the temples, who were thought better able to protect against attack; or, that temples, out of similar fears, divested themselves of their liquid assets.⁴⁵ Panics happen, but the epigraphic record bespeaks an orderly evolution.⁴⁶ Others have posited the rise of a localized, reactionary religious sensibility, under which Mylasans became nostalgic for peaceful days before the rise of the "moderne Geldwirtschaft," when individuals enjoyed lives led under the happy guidance of temple-economies.⁴⁷ But in so divesting, landowners revealed that they chose otherwise: the gods were free to live in the primitive land economy, but Mylasan landowners wanted cash. Land was in this case their ticket to the modern cash economy, whatever that is. Still others have invoked political exigencies. Perhaps members of the *phylai* of Olymos were compelled to divest themselves of the properties upon the annexation of Olymos to Mylasa.⁴⁸ This seems unlikely as the mechanism is attested widely at both places.⁴⁹ Or, maybe Mylasa sought to expand its territory;⁵⁰ presumably on this explanation the tribe

⁴⁴ At Mylasa this was a cash transaction in which the the right of enjoyment changed hands, but not ownership, as Laumonier (1940) 207-208 observed; see e.g. *I. Mylasa* II 806.19-20: τὴν | δὲ παραχώρησιν ἐποιήσατο λαβὼν παρ' αὐτῶν ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας.

⁴⁵ Landowners fear pirates: Broughton, *ESAR* IV 561; *I. Mylasa* I p. 75. Temples fear pirates: Bogaert (1968) 270. Piracy and economic growth through maritime trade were not necessarily mutually incompatible: Gabrielsen (2001); see also Wiemer (2002).

⁴⁶ Descat & Pernin (2008).

⁴⁷ Merkelbach (1994) 305-306: "In der Mitte der hellenistischen Zeit ... sind dann die Mylaseer zu der Überzeugung gekommen, daß die Wirtschaftsweise der karischen Altvorderen, die Tempelwirtschaft, frommer und religiöser gewesen sei als die moderne Geldwirtschaft, und so haben sie versucht, die geschichtliche Entwicklung rückgängig zu machen und das Ackerland wieder in Tempelbesitz zu überführen." Cf. Laumonier (1958) 109.

⁴⁸ Laumonier (1958) 145.

⁴⁹ Behrend (1973) 147.

⁵⁰ *I. Mylasa* I p. 76.

of Otokondeis sent its representatives around the countryside pressuring landowners to sell in the service of territorial expansion. I do not understand how this is supposed to have worked. Neither explanation from compulsion is necessary.

Dignas suggests that the trend was simply driven by the need to underwrite expensive cult. “The Mylasean land-lease documents ... derived from the experience that the gods needed a guaranteed income and that only the revenues of sacred land could provide this. ... the whole [sc. epigraphic] record is based on the fact that it was the gods’ income that was at stake.” Thus, Mylasan “landowners must have been actively and publicly encouraged to sell their land” and “[t]he private landowners who gave up their estates in order to become lessees of Mylasean deities must have been encouraged by the civic authorities.”⁵¹ But, to judge by the scale of their holdings, the landowners were wealthy and probably ranked among those very ‘civic authorities.’ And inasmuch as it is suggested that the Mylasan endowments were like the Trajanic *alimenta*, in which “participation fell under the category of civic *munera*,”⁵² encouragement, here, smells of compulsion. Again, explanation is sought in compulsory extraction of assets from the wealthy. Such things did and do happen, but nothing indicates compulsion here.

Other proposals have not found favor. Böckh and Waddington posited that landowners simply found this a convenient mechanism for raising capital.⁵³ Even Hellenistic kings, who were wealthier than many cities, often preferred to give grain rather than money.⁵⁴ Mylasan land was fertile and these parcels sold for thousands.⁵⁵ Money could be useful. Dareste, Haussoullier, and Reinach proposed that the transactions were in fact not sales, but proper mortgages.⁵⁶ This is not likely to be correct,

⁵¹ Argument at Dignas (2000) 117-126; (2002) 96-106. Quotations at (2000) 122, 125.

⁵² Dignas (2002) 103.

⁵³ Böckh on *CIG* II 2693e; also in Le Bas-Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines* II 416 (now *I. Mylasa* I 212) p. 126.

⁵⁴ Plut., *Demetr.* 10.1 and D.S. 20.46.4; Plb. 5.89.1-5, 31.31.1-3; *SEG* XXXVI 1046; *I. Iasos* I 4; relative availability of grain was, at least in part, the basis of Antigonos’ reluctance to devote cash to the creation of an endowment at Teos-Lebedos: Welles, *Royal Corr.* 3.72-94.

⁵⁵ Fertility: Chandezon (1998) 38-40; *I. Sinuri* p. 70. Thousands: e.g. *I. Mylasa* I 212.4-5, 9-10.

⁵⁶ *IJG* I p. 272; Chandezon (1998) 35-36, followed: “On comprend l’intérêt de cette pratique pour les propriétaires qui obtenaient ainsi une hypothèque sur leurs domaines fonciers.”

as not one of the Mylasan transactions provides for repayment and redemption.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, their suggestion was comparable in simplicity and attractiveness to that of Böckh and Waddington: the sales were motivated at least in part by landowners' desire to raise capital. They were not forced: they wanted money. The similarity of the two suggestions, the one involving sale, the other mortgage, but both motivated by the landowner's desire to raise capital and the purchaser's desire to acquire a modest but stable source of revenue, could certainly put the modern reader in mind of the 'sale with leaseback,'⁵⁸ a transaction with considerable potential for raising capital while limiting tax liability.

Long before the leaseback's popularity, Broughton suggested that Mylasan landowners may have sought tax-shelter by converting private land to sacred.⁵⁹ While Mylasa enjoyed immunity under the Seleucids and under the terms of the Peace of Apamea,⁶⁰ neither entitlement prevented Mylasa from taxing its citizens. Unattractive as *phoros* owed to a distant ruler was, wealthy landowners at Mylasa may not have been eager to pay civic taxes either, as the Athenian experience reminds. On a simple combination of features of Böckh, Waddington, Broughton and Dignas' ideas, I suggest that Mylasan landowners wanted at once to raise capital and to erase visible indication of wealth

⁵⁷ Cf. Debord (1982) 153-159, who thought that the Mylasan transactions were in some way analogous to *I. Sinuri* 46, which manifestly featured the right of redemption; his parallels from Mylasa are not compelling. One battered inscription seems to attest a lease that lasted five years: *I. Mylasa* II 823 (= Laumonier, *REA* 42 [1940] 203); whether the lease was for five years is not beyond doubt as the inscription is in miserable shape and has been heavily restored; another lease freed the lessee from presenting a guarantor after ten years; a third allowed the lessee to remit rent in kind after ten years: *I. Mylasa* I 201 [= *LW* 404]; another combined these benefits, granting the lessee, after ten years of leasehold, freedom from having to present a guarantor and the right to pay rent in kind: *I. Mylasa* II 830 [= *MDAI(A)* 15 (1890) 205 (Vα)]. Not one of these texts provides for repayment and redemption such as are found in *I. Sinuri* 46; they merely suggest that after ten years the god had made back in rent what he had spent to acquire the properties and so could afford to ease regulations on the lease.

⁵⁸ Kohn (2004); similarly, the Sale-In Lease-Out, or SILO, transactions that were so popular (and problematic) in the United States in the 1990s and 2000s — still a popular tool for development of tourism locations in France.

⁵⁹ Broughton (1951) 246; cf. Behrend (1973) 147-148. For an interesting study of private, public, and sacred property see Jacquemin (1998); also Migotte (1998b); for public and private revenues in Greek cities see Descat (1998), and Bresson (1998).

⁶⁰ Behrend (1973) 147-148, citing Livy XXXVIII 39.8: *nominatim praeterea Colophonis, qui in Notio habitant, et Cymaeis et Mylasenis immunitatem concesserunt*, and Plb. 31.46.4: (Κολοφωνίους) δὲ τοὺς τὸ Νότιον οἰκοῦντας καὶ Κυμαίους καὶ Μυλασεῖς ἀφορολογήτους ἀφῆκαν; followed by Dignas (2002) 100; on the status of Mylasa: Ma (1999) 283.

and so transferred portions of their estates to the cash economy; that Broughton was correct to think that Mylasan landowners were sheltering themselves from assessment, but that the taxing authority was Mylasa itself; that Dignas was right that the temple authorities were a crucial player in this process.⁶¹

Observe, then, the benefits that the endowment conferred on one wealthy Mylasan landowner. Thraseas sold a farm for 7000 drachmas and then leased it back at a rent of 300 drachmas per year.⁶² He still enjoyed the estate's yield. He was free to invest those 7000 drachmas as he saw fit, and at the common rate of one percent per month, he would make back the rent in less than five months. But even if the money lay completely idle, it would be 24 years (assuming no inflation) before he began to count losses. Cash could buy options, whether more land locally or even escape from social or geographic provinciality.⁶³ If the rent was a permanent fixture on the land, it was not on Thraseas: nothing in this transaction prevented him from ceding the property, for a fee, and walking away even richer. He contributed to the vibrancy of local religious life, for which he might have enjoyed honor. But also, he no longer owned an estate worth more than a talent of silver and so might more easily defend himself against state intrusion on his wealth. For Thraseas, as for Pliny, this was a good deal.

The development of this mechanism, Dignas has suggested helpfully, looks like a movement toward a new posture of "cooperation" between priests and civic authorities, after a generation of "conflict."⁶⁴ If so, then the very attractiveness of the deal to landowners gives the exchange an odor of collusion. The gods acquired valuable real-estate, at considerable

⁶¹ This need not imply that Mylasa maintained an official register of property and owners, much less a calculus for deriving liturgical eligibility therefrom. Cadastral registration, however, may have been more common than has often been thought: Faraguna (1997), (2000). Of course polities routinely levied extraordinary 'taxes' in the form of contributions and services and in the absence of cadastral control neighborly surveillance, and competition, will always have made visible assets prime evidence of liability to serve. On the variety of fiscal practices and differences between polities see Migeotte (2002). Also Roubineau (2007). For a wide-ranging study on the place of visibility and surveillance in Athenian law, society, economy, and culture: Johnstone (2003).

⁶² *I. Mylasa* I 212.4-5, 9-10.

⁶³ On the attraction of Athens proper and Peiraieus on the Attic population see Etienne & Muller (2007); also on mobility in Hellenistic cities and territories in general and in Attica in particular: Oliver (2011), (2007) 74-110. On mobility and "cash-based activity" see Shipton (2000) 94.

⁶⁴ Dignas (2000) 125-126.

cost in cash, but a reliable source of income with which to fund cult; the landowners parted with this most stable asset in exchange for cash up front, continued right of enjoyment, shelter from taxation, and the ability to keep the money and depart the obligation via cession. In this period, “Mylasa and the local sanctuaries had not merged identity,”⁶⁵ in legal or economic terms. Thus, conversion of private land into sacred did not simply move potential tax-revenue from one part of the civic ledger to another.⁶⁶ By moving private assets into the sacred space, landowners were able to remove them from the taxing reach of the civic authority. These endowments were a win for the gods and the landowners, but a potential loss for civic revenues.

How this mechanism evolved we are only beginning to understand. But already by ca. 220 BC it is claimed as regular practice. A couple of decades after Olympichos established the earliest known endowment at Mylasa, the city was embroiled in yet another property dispute with the priest of Zeus Labraundos.⁶⁷ When ambassadors from Mylasa petitioned Philip V (ca. 220 BC) to rule in the city’s favor, he accepted their proofs of civic ownership:

... they spoke at length, saying that the shrine was yours, having been founded by your ancestors, and that the place and the land around Labraunda belonged to the people, and that for all time you have been accustomed to take the revenues accruing from this (*chora*), and that from these (revenues) you conduct sacrifices and *panegyreis*, concerning which they read decrees and displayed the accounts of the revenue rendered to the city by the priest and the lessees of the properties belonging to the god.⁶⁸

Gods could let property without support of a civic decree. But when citizens endowed lands such often followed. The fact that at least some of the disputed properties had paper trails, might indicate a direct and

⁶⁵ Dignas (2000) 125-126.

⁶⁶ For strict observance of the distinction between sacred (endowed) funds and civic administration see Migeotte (2009/10).

⁶⁷ See *I. Labraunda* 1-5; on the long dispute between Labraunda and Mylasa: Virgilio (2001); Dignas (2002) 59-69; also Isager (1990) 79-90.

⁶⁸ *I. Labraunda* 5.21-31: διελέγοντο ἰ φάμενοι τὸ ἱερὸν ὑμέτερον εἶναι ἰδρυθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰ προγόνων καὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν κατὰ ἰ Λαβράυνδα εἶναι τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὰ προσόδια τὰ ἰ ἐκ ταύτης διατετελεκέναι πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἰ λαμβάνοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων θυσίας καὶ ἰ πανηγύρεις συντελεῖν, περὶ ὧν καὶ ψηφίσματα ἀνέλιγνωσαν καὶ τοὺς ἀποδεδομένους λόγους τῇ ἰ πόλει τῆς προσόδου παρὰ τε τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ τῶν ἰ μεμισθωμένων τὰς κτήσεις τὰς καθηκούσας τῷ ἰ θεῷ ἰ πεδείκνυν.

mandatory relationship between what the lessee paid and what the priest spent. In the light of Olympichos' gift it is likely that some of Zeus Osogo's numerous⁶⁹ properties were already endowed.

We may never have a complete picture of the institution's evolution. Much may hinge on forthcoming research on the chronology of the texts and the possible relationship of the historical and economic circumstances to regional coinage reforms (n. 31 above). Some crucial observations, however, may be drawn from an important paper by Descat and Pernin, who note that some of the earlier transactions seem to have accommodated at least partial payment of rent in kind, rather than cash, which later became the norm. This could have been consistent with efforts by landowners to re-orient their investments toward money, allowing them, as it did, to conserve cash; if so, the earliness could suggest that such was part of the mechanism's original purpose. On the other hand, what we have come to think of as the normative and defining procedure, under which seller becomes lessee, appears to have become more common (even typical) over time, but may not have been an original feature.⁷⁰ In this case, the possible deployment of the mechanism in a manner similar to Pliny's may have been an evolved trait and not an initial design element.⁷¹ Whatever its origins, the mature mechanism was a strategy for endowing land with a view to supporting cult activity, as Dignas suggests, and almost certainly had a sheltering effect on tax liability, perhaps an intentional one, as Broughton suspected.

ENDOWMENTS ON AMORGOS

Sometime in the late second or early first century BC Kritolaos son of Alkimedon, of Aigiale, gave the city 2,000 drachmas to create an endowment⁷² to underwrite annual celebration of a sacrifice, festival,

⁶⁹ See esp. *I. Labraunda* 69.

⁷⁰ Descat & Pernin (2008) 306-308.

⁷¹ The interesting suggestion of Descat & Pernin (2008) 309-312, that the mechanism was inspired by the old practices — early Hellenistic reception of Achaemenid practices, even — surrounding hereditary concessions of royal property, which was to be held but not owned, seems a harder case to make, if only for the simple reason that shared terms for components of similar transactions need not mean that the transactions themselves are, as it were, genetically related: heritable leases and loans could be put together in different ways, to quite different ends.

⁷² *IG XII.7* 515 [Laum, *Stiftungen* 50].

and games in which the city's ephebes took part. The gift gave lasting voice to Kritolaos' piety, love, and sense of honor, memorializing the life and death of his son Aleximachos. By decree of the people, the terms of Kritolaos' contribution, and a law proposed by a panel of his peers, the young man was heroized, and at the endowed games the dead hero would ever be proclaimed victor in the *pankration* and crowned for his virtue and discipline.⁷³

Aspects of this fascinating episode that concern heroization, endowed cult honors bestowed on family members, gymnasial culture — in other words, matters surrounding the ostensible purpose of the project, the object of its expenditure, its social and cultural context — have benefited from scholarly attention,⁷⁴ but the financial features have drawn little. We have no cause to doubt Kritolaos' religious scruple, sense of loss, emotional sincerity, or euergetistic conviction. But the economic dimensions of this mechanism also tell a story.

First, procedure. The modest fund was capitalized at 2,000 drachmas. Borrowers were to secure a loan of no more than 200 drachmas against landed property that was worth more than 2,000 drachmas and was clear of any outstanding private liens.⁷⁵ Interest, at one-tenth, was due annually, either by the borrowers themselves or by any tenants who leased the real securities; borrowers were forbidden from repaying the principal at any time.⁷⁶ These returns were to be spent on the games and attendant

⁷³ IG XII.7 515.6-8: γεγράφασι τὸν ἀφηροῖσμον τὸν Ἀλεξιμάχου τοῦ Κριτολάου, | [καθὼς καὶ] ὃ τε δῆμος ἐψηφίσται καὶ Κριτόλαος ἐπιδέδωκεν εἰς ταῦτα | [δραχμ]ᾶς δισχιλίας; 83-84: πανκράτιον δὲ μὴ τιθέτωσαν, ἀλλ' ἀνακηρυσσέσθω νικῶν | [Ἀ]λεξιμάχος Κριτολάου; 101-103: ἀνακηρυσσέ[τω δὲ ὁ κῆρ]υξ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀλ[γῶ]νος παραχρήμα, στεφανοῦσιν οἱ πρε[σβ]ύτεροι [κ]αὶ οἱ ἔφηβοι καὶ οἱ | [νέ]οι πάντες Ἀλεξιμάχ[ο]ν Κριτολάου ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐταξίας ἧς | [ἔχ]ων διετέλει. *Eutaxia* is a stereotypical quality of upstanding participants in gymnasial activities; its pairing with *arete*, though less common in the Hellenistic period than one might have thought, is also no surprise, but compare the interesting collocation εὐτακτος ἀρετή, on the tombstone of a young woman, at GV 1881.7 = *I. Sardis Buckler* 111, with Herrmann (1995) 194-195.

⁷⁴ E.g. Helms (2003); Hughes (1999).

⁷⁵ IG XII.7 515.10-14: ἐγδανείζεσθαι δὲ αὐτ[ὸ] | ἀπὸ δε[κ]άτου, τοὺς δὲ δανεισομένους διδόναι ὑποθήκην χωρία | [πλεῖο]νος ἄξια δραχμῶν δισχιλίων ἀνεπιδάνειστα ἰδιωτικοῦ δα[ν]είου, καὶ λ[α]μβάνειν ἐπὶ τ[ῇ] προδεδηλωμένῃ ὑποθήκῃ μὴ πλεῖον δρα[χμῶν] διακ[ο]σίων. Strictly speaking, this provision (ἀνεπιδάνειστα ἰδιωτικοῦ δα[ν]είου) appears to be construable as allowing the encumbrance of land that was already used to secure a debt to the state.

⁷⁶ IG XII.7 515.17-24: τὸν δὲ τόκον οἱ δεδανεισμένοι | [τὸ ἀργ]ύριον ἀποδιδότωσ[α]ν δέκατον, καταβάλλοντες αἰεὶ ἐν μηνὶ Ἀπα[τουρ]ιῶν ἐν τεῖ βουλεῖ, κα[θ]άπερ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα· τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον ἐνολ[φει]λέσθω παρὰ τοῖς

cult in accordance with the terms of the decree and Kritolaos' gift.⁷⁷ The basic outline of the mechanism is clear enough.

According to Millett, a perpetual loan of only 200 drachmas,⁷⁸ secured by land worth ten times the debt, was unattractive, inconceivable. In his

δανεισάμενοις ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑποθήκαις ἐφ' αἷς ἐδα[νε]ίσαστο ἕκαστος, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ φυλετικά, εἰς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον, καὶ μὴ ἔλ[στω] αὐτοῦ πρᾶξις· μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ τοῖς ὀφείλουσιν τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύ[ριον] καταβαλεῖν τὸ ἀρχαῖον κατὰ μῆθρα τρόπον, ἀλλ' ἐνοφειλέσθω ἐν ταῖς ὑποθήκαις ἐπὶ αἷς ἂν δανείσωνται εἰς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον.

⁷⁷ Disbursement and conduct elaborated upon at *IG* XII.7 515.39-107.

⁷⁸ The figure of the maximum loan is partly restored by Hiller and has received near universal acceptance (*IG* XII.7 515.13-14): μὴ πλεῖον δρα[χμῶν διακ]οσίων. No one appears to have accepted Reinach's (1909) ἐνακ[οσίων] or ἐξακ[οσίων], the impossibility of whose even divisibility into 2,000, in my view, ought to preclude both. He argued that property worth more than 2,000 would have generated annual revenues far greater than 20 or 30 drachmas, so that the law's drafters should not have stipulated that, "If the rented lands yield a surplus then [the lessee of the security] shall pay what exceeds the interest and the *hemionion* to the owner of the security promptly in the council" (*IG* XII.7 515.32-35: ὁ δὲ μισθωσάμενος προκατ[αβαλ]λέτω τὸ μίσθωμα <π>ᾶν ἐν τεῖ βουλευεῖ· ἐὰν δέ τι ὑπὲρέχη μισθοῦμενα τὰ ἰ[χ]ωρία, ἀποδιδότωσαν τῷ κυρίῳ τῆς ὑποθήκης παραχρῆμα ἐν τεῖ βουλευεῖ ἢ τὸ ὑπερεχὲς τοῦ τε τόκου καὶ τοῦ ἡμιολίου) but rather "l'excédent sera restitué au débiteur." The 200-drachma penalty, he continues, must have been intended to cover the rent due on the security plus the *hemionion*. Thus, the rent alone must have been roughly 135 drachmas ($135 \times 1.5 \approx 200$), and since the rent should have been greater than or equal to the interest due plus the *hemionion*, the interest must have been 90 drachmas ($90 \times 1.5 = 135$), and the principal 900. Therefore we must restore ἐνακ[οσίων] in line 14, which seems to make tidy math, or else ἐξακ[οσίων], which, on Reinach's logic, has nothing to do with the math but is somehow more cautious: Reinach (1909) 250: "On se décidera pour l'une ou l'autre, suivant opinion qu'on aura de la prévoyance de Critolaos et de ses collègues." This misunderstands the penalty, which was simply the sum of the debt itself, a fine paid to the state, not a sum from which the rent owed to the landowner was to be subtracted. The endowment featured steep penalties elsewhere too; see note above on *IG* XII.7 515.27-29 and 117-119. Some fines may have been calculated from principal or interest, although there was no fixed or common rule: Laum, *Stiftungen* I p. 194-198. Administrators of the famous Corcyran endowment were to be fined 30 minas, one-sixth the principal, for general failure to follow procedure; this was the amount of the interest. Failure to pay the fine, resulted in a larger fine, set at twice the principal. *IG* IX.1².4 798.66-71: εἰ δὲ οἱ αἰρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰν χειρίζιν τοῦ ἀργυρίου μὴ ποιήσαιεν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, εἰ μὴ ἐκδανείσαιεν τὸ ἀργύριον καθὼς γέγραπται δυνατοὶ ἐόντες, ἀποτ<ε>ισάντω ἀργυρίου Κορινθίου μνᾶς τριάκοντα ἢ καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον ὃ κα παραλάβ[ω]ντι παραδόντω, εἰ δὲ ἢ μὴ, διπλῇ ἀποτ<ε>ισάντω τὸ κεφάλαιον. Similarly, 72-76: εἰ δὲ ἐγδανείσαντες μὴ ἀνπράξαιεν τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ τὸν τόκον, ἢ μὴ παραδοῖ<ε>ν <αὐ>τὸ τοῖς αἰρεθεῖσι, καθὼς γέγραπται, ἢ ἀποτ<ε>ισάντω τὸ τε κεφάλαιον καὶ τὸν τόκον διπλῇ, ὁπότερον κα μὴ παραδ<ῶ>ντι; also 100-102: <ε>ἰ δὲ μὴ ποιήσαιεν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων οἱ τε χειρίζοντες τὸ ἀργύριον ἢ οἱ ἄρχοντες, ἀποτ<ε>ισάτω ὁ αἴτιος ἀργυρίου Κορινθίου μνᾶς τριάκοντα καὶ ὃ <κα> καταβλάψῃ διπλῇ. An Eretrian endowment punished misappropriation, actual or proposed, with a penalty of 60,000 drachmas, one and a half times the entire principal: *IG* XII.9 236.56-58: εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὃ τε γράψας ἢ ἐπερωτήσας ὀφειλέτω ἱερὰς τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἢ δραχμὰς ἐξακισμυρίας καὶ ἔστω

view, restrictions such as these made borrowing unattractive; as a result, states resorted to endowments as a means of systematizing compulsory borrowing. In the case of the famous Corcyran endowment, he notes, if the officials responsible for lending the principal failed to achieve full investment, they were to be fined, but that “as the wealthiest citizens, they would be in a position to put pressure on others to take up the loans or, as a last resort, take up any surplus cash themselves.”⁷⁹ Elites, on this view, preferred not to endure the stiff regulations imposed by the endowment, when it was possible “to borrow elsewhere on less binding terms.”⁸⁰ Thus, founders and cities co-opted local elites to compel their unwilling (less wealthy?) peers to borrow: if the officials failed to strong-arm their fellows they themselves were to pay the price. But endowments had fixed annual costs. Failure to lend the entire principal would have resulted in returns insufficient to meet these costs, and this cannot have been acceptable. For this reason, founders and states had officials absorb risk.⁸¹ The Corcyran endowment was potentially confiscatory, but only against officials judged by council and people to have failed to invest the money.⁸²

Millett sees a similar system of compulsory borrowing in Kritolaos’ Aigialitan endowment: “Taking up a loan from the Aigiale foundation looks like the performance of a civic duty.”⁸³ But remember Kritolaos’

ἀπαγωγή κατ’ αὐτοῦ τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ μέρει πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ τὰ γραφέντα ἄκυρα ἔστω. The prosecutor was entitled to claim one-third of the fine, so that the penalty to the goddess was in effect the sum of the endowment’s principal.

⁷⁹ Millett (1991) 235-238, at 237; *IG IX.1².4* 798.66-72 [Laum, *Stiftungen* 1], quoted above.

⁸⁰ Millett (1991) 237; I do not know what “less binding terms” is meant to imply.

⁸¹ Such was routine; officials involved in a Samian *sitionia*-endowment had to meet minimum wealth requirements and stand surety for their appointed tasks (*IG XII.6* 172.37-52): ἀποδεικνύτω δὲ ὁ δῆμος καθ’ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀρχαιρεσιῶν μετὰ τὸ καταστήσῃ τὰς χειροτονητάς ἡ ἀρχὰς ἄνδρας δύο, ἐξ ἑκατέρας φυλῆς ἓνα, τοὺς ἐσομένους ἐπὶ τοῦ σίτου, μὴ ἐλάσσονα οὐσίαν ἔχοντα ἑκάτερον ἡ ταλάντων τριῶν. οὗτοι δὲ παραλαβόντες τὸν τόκον παρὰ ἡμῶν μελεδωνῶν διδόντωσαν τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ σίτου καὶ ἐάν τι ἄλλο δαπάνημα γίνηται, παραμετρεῖσθωσαν δὲ ἡμῶν σίτον. ἀποδεικνύτω δὲ καὶ σιτώνην ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, μὴ ἐλάσσονα οὐσίαν ἔχοντα ταλάντων δύο. ... τὴν δὲ δ[ι]εγγύησιν ποιείσθωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ χειροτονηθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ σίτου κινδύν[ω]σι τῷ ἑαυτῶν.

⁸² *IG IX.1².4* 798.66-72, esp. 67-69, 71-72: εἰ μὴ ἐκδανείσαιεν τὸ ἀργύριον καθὼς γέγραπται δυνατοὶ ἐόντες, ... [71] περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου βουλὰ καὶ ἀλία ἐπιγινώσκέτω (“if they should not lend out the money as prescribed, in spite of their ability.... As to their inability the council and people shall determine”).

⁸³ Millett (1991) 238.

motives. His endowment underwrote cult offered to his own dead son. To establish an endowment so uninviting that borrowers had to be forced to participate would have run contrary to Kritolaos' own interests and pious motives. It would have risked alienating him from his peer-group, jeopardizing the honor and esteem in which the people held him, his son, his prominent family.⁸⁴ Finally, making the conditions of participation burdensome might have threatened the continuity of cult offered to Kritolaos' son.⁸⁵ To have engineered such obvious risk would have been bad financial planning. Endowments were constrained by fixed income and fixed, non-negotiable expenses. Compelling borrowers increased risk. Endowments dealt in incentives, for example, lending at a slight discount, almost always below one drachma per mina per month, i.e. less than 12 percent per year.⁸⁶ Endowments did not need to compel borrowing, which was not conducive to their survival; low rates made participation attractive.

Moreover, fixing a maximum loan could have been meant to ensure that a minimum number of investors *had the opportunity* to borrow, so that the terms of Kritolaos' endowment in fact benefited landowning debtors. Now, debtors were obliged to pay interest, of course, but if their securities were let out then the *tenants* were to pay the interest on the loans.⁸⁷ All earnings over and above the interest owed to the endowment, plus any

⁸⁴ A Kritolaos son of Alkimedon dedicated a *naos* to the gods and the people (*IG* XII.7 433; II BC); another, presumably the same, was praised for loans offered to neighboring Minoa, when it was in pressing need of income owing to surrounding circumstances (*IG* XII.7 388.6-10; 200-150 BC: *χρείας τε γενομένης ἰ ἀναγκαίας τῷ δήμῳ διαφόρου διὰ τοὺς ἰ περιστάνας καιροὺς, οὐκ ἀντεῖπεν, ἀλλ' ἐδάνεισεν προθύμως ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῷ δήμῳ*); Kritolaos (again, presumably the same) and Parmenion, both sons of Alkimedon, were honored for distinguished service as *choregoi* (*IG* XII.7 389), including provision of a sacrifice and feast. An Alkimedon son of Kritolaos of Aigiale, perhaps Kritolaos' father, was honored as *proxenos* and *euergetes* of the god and people of Delos (*IG* XI.4 826). On *philotimia* as a motivation for establishing an endowment: Laum, *Stiftungen* I, p. 44; Schaaf (1992) 13-15

⁸⁵ *IG* XII.7 515.6: *γεγ]ράφασι τὸν ἀφηροῖσμον τὸν Ἀλεξιμάχου τοῦ Κριτολάου*.

⁸⁶ In 160/59 citizens of Delphi drafted regulations for two endowments that offered loans at $6\frac{2}{3}$ percent per year: *Syll.*³ 672.21-23 [Laum, *Stiftungen* 28]: *ἐγδανεισάντω δὲ τὸ ἀργύριον οἱ αἰρεθέντες ἐπιμεληταὶ ἄνδρες τρεῖς, οὓς καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ἔλωνται*, ἰ τόκου πεντεκαίδεκάτου ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ Ἀμαλίῳ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀμφιστράτου ἀρχῆς; Epikteta's Theran endowment drew 7 percent: *IG* XII.3 330 [Laum, *Stiftungen* 43; Wittenburg (1990) 22-37]; endowments from Miletos and Ilion earned 10 percent: *I. Milet* I.3 145; [Laum, *Stiftungen* 129]; *I. Ilion* 52.12-14 [Laum, *Stiftungen* 65].

⁸⁷ *IG* XII.7 515.17-19: *τὸν δὲ τόκον οἱ δεδανεισμένοι ἰ [τὸ ἀργ]ύριον ἀποδιδότωσ[α]ν δέκατον, καταβάλλοντες αἰεὶ ἐν μηνὶ Ἀπα[του]ρίῳ ἐν τεῖ βουλεῖ; 32-33: ὁ δὲ μισθωσάμενος προκατ[αβαλ]λέτω τὸ μίσθωμα <π>ᾶν ἐν τεῖ βουλεῖ. These lessees are not mentioned earlier in the text, which led Laqueur (1927) 160-171, to posit that the surviving text is a conflation of two contributing versions or related texts. Whether this*

finances that may have accrued, were to be paid directly to the landowner in the presence of the council.⁸⁸ Thus, for a landowner who borrowed 200 drachmas from the endowment, a mere 20 drachmas per year bought freedom from having to extract rent from his tenants; the tardy would instantly be known as such to the council. Moreover, if he invested the 200 drachmas, so long as he matched or beat 10 percent he would scarcely feel the cost of this. In return for the modest payment, the council would offer a mechanism and the leverage of its public setting and institutional gravity to assist with collection of rents.⁸⁹ Obviously, the attraction of this service, from the perspective of the landowner/debtor, was at least partly determined by its price; the lower the loan, the smaller the interest, the lower the cost. So, there is a conceivable logic under which the terms of borrowing from Kritolaos' endowment begin to seem appealing rather than inconceivable.

Moreover, the debtor retained title and so was permitted to alienate or encumber⁹⁰ the property in the future, on condition that the original lien remain bound to the land. Thus, even if the debtor sold the land, responsibility to pay "interest" on his debt would reside with the new possessor, whether owner (if the plot was not let out) or tenant (if it was), but in any case no longer with himself.⁹¹ The mechanism in effect converted a permanent debt obligation into a permanent lien on the property, from which the debtor could detach himself with ease — recall here Pliny's remarks on the impact of such endowment on the price of future cession, and the cognate Mylasan cessions. The Aigialitan investor enjoyed a clear and easy exit option.

Another, more powerful, incentive resided in the legal and economic ambiguity inherent in the terminology and practice of hypothecation, which Amorgans were capable of exploiting as skillfully as Athenians of

is correct or not, the decree as it stands clearly envisages the possibility that the securities would be let out, and requires tenants to pay their landlords' debts.

⁸⁸ *IG* XII.7 515.33-35: ἐὰν δέ τι ὑπερέχῃ μισθούμενα τὰ ἰ[χ]ωρία, ἀποδιδότωσαν τῷ κυρίῳ τῆς ὑποθήκης παραχρῆμα ἐν τεῖ βουλευίᾳ τὸ ὑπερεχὲς τοῦ τε τόκου καὶ τοῦ ἡμιολίου.

⁸⁹ The prospect of not having to deal directly with tenant farmers had to be enticing to at least some wealthy landowners. Such activity certainly caused significant anxiety to Pliny in a later era; on Pliny's management of his estates, see Kehoe (1988) and id. (1993).

⁹⁰ On multiple liens: Harter-Uibopuu (2006).

⁹¹ *IG* XII.7 515.107-109: ἐὰν δέ τις ὀνήσῃται τὰς ὀφειλούσας ὑπ[ο]θήκας ἢ ὑποθῇται, καθ' ὃν ἢ [εἴρη]ται τρόπον φερέτω τὸν τόκον καταβάλλων [ἐν τεῖ βουλευίᾳ] τοῦ Ἀπαλ[του]ριῶνος μηνὸς ὃ ἔχων τὴν ὑποθήκην.

an earlier generation had.⁹² We learn from an Amorgan *horos*-stone that a man named Nikeratos, along with Hegekrate and her *kyrios* Telenikos, borrowed 5000 drachmas against three groups of properties, one that Nikeratos inherited, another that he purchased from Ischyriion, and another that he held as security from Exakestos.⁹³ “Despite the fact that he has only received it as security, Niceratus treats the property of Exacestus as if it were his own and uses it as security for a loan... The implication should be clear — Niceratus regards the security as his own property.”⁹⁴ Kritolaos’ endowment shows the same logic at work: “If anyone purchases the encumbered securities or receives them as security, he who *holds* the security shall pay the interest.”⁹⁵ If a debtor sold the hypothecated land to someone else, he voided his own responsibility for paying the debt, which fell to whoever *held* the land, whether the new possessor was purchaser or the purchaser’s tenant. Moreover, a land-owner/debtor could cancel his debt by *hypothecating* the already-hypothecated land, in which case the burden fell to the secondary creditor or the creditor’s tenant, again, whoever held the land (ὁ ἔχων τὴν ὑποθήκην).⁹⁶ For purposes of establishing liability under the debt, then, the law governing Kritolaos’ endowment reckoned sale and encumbrance as two ver-

⁹² On the language of sale and hypothecation, potential ambiguities, and their exploitation in legal behavior and thought see Harris (1988) 361-366. This was no mere legal grey area, a matter for the courts to decide and re-decide as disputes arose; the state took a position: the so-called charter of the Second Athenian Naval Confederacy forbade Athenians from acquiring real property in member-cities, whether by purchase or acceptance as security: *IG* IP43.35-41: ἀπὸ δὲ Νλαυσινίκο ἄρχον[τ]ος μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε ἰδίαι μήτε δημοσ[ί]αι Ἀθηναίων μηθεὶ ἐγκτήσασθαι ἐν τ[α]ῖς τῶν συμμάχων χώραις μήτε οἰκίαν μήτε χωρίον μήτε πριαμένωι μήτε ὑποθεμένωι μήτε ἄλλωι τρόπῳ μηθεὶ; this does not stipulate “whether through purchase or through acquisition owing to default on loans secured by real estate.” No Athenian was to lend money against land owned by citizens of member cities, not only because such *could result* in alienation but also because in Athenian law such *could be construed* as a kind of alienation in the first place. Supporting Harris’ arguments about terminological (not procedural) variety: Youni (1996). For competing constructions of a fascinating Corcyran loan (*SEG* LIII 503) see Vélissaropoulos-Karakostas (2006) and Harter-Uibopuu (2006), in the same volume.

⁹³ *IG* XII.7 55.14 (ca 300) = Finley, *Studies in Land and Credit* no. 102: ἀπέδοτο Νικήρατος καὶ Ἡγεκράτη καὶ ὁ κύριο[ς] | Τελένικος Κτησιφῶντι Πυθίππου τὰ χωρία καὶ τὴν οἰκί[α]ν κ[α]ὶ | τὸν κέραμον ἅπαντα ἃ ἔχει | διελόμενος Νικήρατος πρὸς τὸν | ἀδελφὸν Ἀνθίνην, καὶ τὰ χωρία | ἃ ἐπρίατο Νικήρατος παρὰ Ἰσχυρίωνος ἅπαν[ν]τα, καὶ τὰ χωρία ἃ ἔχει | θέμενος Ν[ικήρ]ατος παρὰ Ἐξακέστου ἅπαντα [ἀ]ργυρίου δραχμῶν | πεντακισχιλίων.

⁹⁴ Harris (1988) 364.

⁹⁵ *IG* XII.7 515.107-109: ἐὰν δέ τις ὠνήσῃται τὰς ὀφειλούσας ὑποθήκας ἢ ὑποθῇται ... φερέτω τὸν τόκον ... ὁ ἔχων τὴν ὑποθήκην.

⁹⁶ See Harter-Uibopuu (2006) 297-298.

sions of the same fact.⁹⁷ Either way, responsibility for payment of interest resided in and adhered to the property and fell to its possessor, not necessarily the owner of the security or the recipient of the loan.

The same obtained at Amorgan Minoa, from which we know a roughly contemporary endowment.⁹⁸ There, borrowers were permitted to repay the principal and to dissolve the lien (in contrast to the terms of Kritolaos' endowment) but payment always went first to the goddess whom the endowed cult celebrated (i.e. before payment of any rents that tenants owed to debtors), and the parties liable to seizure, i.e. responsible for payment to the endowment, were "those who hold and enjoy the hypothecated securities," that is, the encumbered property's tenant or the creditor if the land was offered up as security for a subsequent loan.⁹⁹ If there were neither, then the owner, who was debtor to the endowment, obviously would have paid, although the Minoan endowment does not mention that possibility.¹⁰⁰ This emphasis on possessors rather than owners (ὁ ἔχων τὴν ὑποθήκην at Aigiale, οἱ ἔλχοντες καὶ νεμόμενοι τὰ ἐνέχυρα τὰ ὑποκείμενα at Minoa) was not the result of terminological

⁹⁷ Recall *IG* II² 43.35-41 above.

⁹⁸ *IG* XII.7 245 (with Vanseveren [1937] 314-315) + 237 [= *Syll.*³ 1047; Laum, *Stiftungen* 50a].

⁹⁹ *IG* XII.7 237.57-61: ὑπαρχέτω δὲ τῇ θεῷ τὰ χρήματ[α] | ἐπὶ τοῖς κτήμασιν ἐκάστων τῶν δεδανεισμένων καὶ ἡ κομιδὴ ἔστω πρώτη τῇ θεῷ καὶ τῶν τόκων καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ πρακτοὶ ἔστωσαν αἱ οἱ ἔλχοντες καὶ νεμόμενοι τὰ ἐνέχυρα τὰ ὑποκείμενα. Creditors holding and enjoying: *AJP* (1935) 372-377 no. II with Wilhelm's restorations at *SEG* XIX 699.87-88: ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδῶσιν νεμοῦνται τὰ ὑποθήματα οἱ δανείσαντες μέχρι κομίσωνται πάντα τὰ | [δάνεια καὶ τοὺς τόκους; *I. Eph.* I 4.74-77: ὑπὲρ | τῶν δανε[ιστ]ῶν τῶν ἐμβεβηκότων εἰς κτήματα· ὅσοι μὲμ πρὸ μηνὸς Ποσιδεῶνος | τοῦ ἐπὶ Δη[μ]αγόρου ἐμβάντες εἰς κτήματα κατὰ πράξεις | ἔχουσιν τὰ κτήματα καὶ νέμονται, εἶναι [αὐ]τοῖς κυρίας τὰς ἐμβάσεις, εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο ἐκόντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμολογήκασιν. Tenant holding and enjoying: Herrmann & Polatkan (1969): lin. 21-26: ὑπὲρ ὧν χωρῶν ψειλῶν καὶ ἐνιδένδρων καὶ ἀμπέλων καὶ τῶν προγεγραμμένων πάντων καὶ συνκαθωσιωμένων τῷ μνημείῳ δώσει ἐπ' ἐνιαυτῷ εἰς φύσκον ἀπλῆς οὐνικίας ὁ διακατέχων καὶ νεμόμενος καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν πρόσοδον βασιτάζων δραχμὰς δέκα δύο εἰς Νάκρασον, ἀρχόμενος διδόναι ὅταν καρπὸν | ἀνέλῃται. Where, in case of dispute, claims of ownership were skirted with neutral language: Chaniotis *Vertr.* 49.38-39 (*IC* III iv 9): ἔχοντες δὲ καὶ νήσους καὶ νεμόμενοι (Magnesian copy, *I. Magnesia* 160.10-11: ἔχοντες [δὲ καὶ | νήσου]ς καὶ νεμόμενοι). On terminology of ownership as opposed to possession see Chaniotis (2004) 187-190.

¹⁰⁰ It was either regarded as too obvious to need stating, over and above the stipulation at *IG* XII.7 237.33-38 (ἐὰν | δέ τις [τῶν] ὀφειλόντων τὸ ἀργύριον τῇ θεῷ βούληται ἀποδοῦναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, καταβαλλέτω τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ Κρονιῶνος ἐν κυρία ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τοῖς ἐξετασταῖς, τὸν δὲ τόκον τοῦ μηνὸς | τοῦ Πανήμου τοῖς ἐπιμηνίοις), which clearly invokes the debtor's obligation to pay; or, it was deemed unlikely that the owner would not have a tenant on the land.

imprecision or any other such thing. The Amorgans knew how to refer to the owner of encumbered properties: if the securities generated returns in excess of the interest owed by their owners, plus the *hemiolion*, the tenants were required to render such “to the *kyrios* of the security.”¹⁰¹ But these mechanisms removed responsibility for the debt from the owner, vesting it in the security’s possessor instead. For tenants and creditors alike, to possess or enjoy land to which debt was attached was to carry responsibility for that debt.

This fact suggests a new framework for understanding this procedure. Aigialitan landowners who borrowed from the endowment against their own property were able to claim that when they assumed the debt they shed liability to all charges that might derive from ownership. This legal fact was well appreciated at Athens. Several Attic leases specified whether lessee or lessor was to be liable to pay *eisphora*, should its assessment be tied to the land under lease.¹⁰² In cases of hypothecation, Athenian law did not enshrine a default position on liability.¹⁰³ And in disputes over land, the possessor of the land was responsible for producing either the borrower, who had established the land as security or the seller who had alienated it.¹⁰⁴ The same legal landscape obtained at Aigiale, where a small perpetual loan from Kritolaos’ endowment had the potential to buy the debtor lifelong shelter for real assets whose value exceeded the debt by an order of magnitude.¹⁰⁵ Hence the striking formulation, apparently unique, regarding alienation of “securities that owe,” τὰς ὀφειλούσας ὑπ[οθ]ήκας (107). Securities do not owe;

¹⁰¹ IG XII.7 515.33-35: ἐὰν δέ τι ὑπὲρέχῃ μισθούμενα τὰ ἰ[χ]ωρία, ἀποδιδότωσαν τῷ κυρίῳ τῆς ὑποθήκης παραχρῆμα ἐν τεῖ βουλευίᾳ τὸ ὑπερεχὲς τοῦ τε τόκου καὶ τοῦ ἡμιολίου.

¹⁰² Deme leases in which lessee pays *eisphora*: IG II² 2496.25-28, SEG XXIV 151.31-32 (on Wilhelm’s restorations); in which lessor pays *eisphora*: IG II² 2492.24-27, 2497.4-6, 2498.7-9; *orgeones*, who let land to private individual, assume liability for *eisphora*: IG II² 2499.37-39; *koinon Dyaleon* lets land immune from *eisphora* and other expenses: IG II² 1241.13-17. See Papazarkadas (2011) 112-126, esp. 124-126.

¹⁰³ Ownership was certainly not joint, and neither was the ambiguity rhetorical; rather, Athenian law was capable of recognizing terms under which ownership resided with either creditor or debtor. Harris (2008) 194-196.

¹⁰⁴ Isaeus 10.24: Καίτοι δίκαιον, ὃ ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ τῶν ἀμφισβητήσιμων χωρίων δεῖ τὸν ἔχοντα ἢ θέτιν ἢ πρατῆρα παρέχεσθαι ἢ καταδεδικασμένον φαίνεσθαι....

¹⁰⁵ The decree attached no maximum value to the security, only a minimum (IG XII.7 515.11-12): τοὺς δὲ δανεισομένους διδόναι ὑποθήκην χωρία ἢ [πλεῖο]νος ἄξια δραχμῶν δισχιλίων; presumably a landowner who was confident in his ability to write the mortgage off as a sale was free to secure the loan with property worth 3000 drachmas, or 5000, or any amount over the 2000-drachma minimum.

debtors do. Securities are encumbered, ὑποκειμένας or similar, but not ὀφειλούσας. But the terms of Kritolaos' endowment defined what might otherwise be called personal debt as an irrevocable lien on land, creating a legal reality in which the securities themselves carry the debt, forever. Borrowers from Kritolaos' endowment could simply claim that they did not own the securities. The permanence of these liens was cognate with that of the rent at Mylasa or on Pliny's Umbrian estate.

And even permanence was not nearly the burden that it might seem. Borrowers were barred from repaying the loan, which means that the 200 drachmas were theirs to keep, forever. Now, if they were working the land themselves then they were 'losing' 20 drachmas per year; and if they let the land to another they were, probably, receiving 20 drachmas fewer per year out of the land's yield. Thus, after a decade the annual payment might start to look like loss, assuming that the borrowers had not put the 200 drachmas to productive investment. But the landowners will have thought in terms of their wider positions: if one hoped that a 2,000-drachma reduction in visible assets might help preclude nomination to liturgy then the lien might not be reckoned as a loss, but rather as insurance against future expenditure. From this perspective the debt obligation was a potentially valuable thing to hold. Moreover, if an original debtor should choose to sell he might not even have to reduce the price by 20 drachmas (1%), for a purchaser similarly motivated to limit liability might deem that a small price to pay. In other words, Pliny's observation that a permanent lien decreased the value of the encumbered land (*Ep.* 7.18, above) might have been correct only in a narrow sense. For some, the lien might have commanded a premium.

For this endowment to have succeeded a state-sponsored collection-agency that allowed wealthy elites to raise a small amount of capital while sheltering significant assessable wealth need not have been attractive to all of the wealthy landowners at Aigiale, but merely to ten. There is no reason to think that compulsion was needed. What landowner had to be forced to borrow a small amount of money at a bargain rate under a legal mechanism that allowed him to minimize both work and tax liability?

Moreover, prosopographical data suggests that the Architeles son of Parmenion (1-2) who helped draft the law under which Kritolaos son of Alkimedon's money was to be endowed was a relative of the benefactor.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Apart from this text, the name Architeles appears in only three inscriptions in the Amorgan corpus, all from Aigiale. An ephebe list roughly dated to the first century BC

As at Aigiale, so at Minoa, where the slightly earlier endowment funded by Hegesarete wife of Hermokrates son of Pagkritos was to be administered under a law drafted by a commission of three, one of whom was Pagkritos son of Pagkritos.¹⁰⁷ One family member furnished the capital; another co-wrote the regulations. It was a small and tight crowd that both founded endowments and crafted the favorable rules governing their operations. To the modern eye this has the look of what we might call the productive engagement of special interests in the legislative process; or else corruption.

Such collaboration did not produce a tool to compel peers to take undesirable loans but one that invited them to take profitable ones. The mechanics of the Attalid endowment at Delphi (mentioned above) may appear at first glance to have been unfavorable to borrowers: they were required to take on a minimum debt of 500 drachmas, to secure it with arable land worth twice the sum of the debt, and to guarantee both debt and security with approved sureties.¹⁰⁸ This was a high bar for prospective

records a Parmenion son of Architeles and an Architeles son of Parmenion as former gymnasiarch and hypogymnasiarch respectively (*IG* XII.7 421.1-4); another, dated roughly to the first century AD attests an Architeles son of Parmenion who was also gymnasiarch, and a Parmenion son of Architeles who was an ephebe under him (*IG* XII.7 425.1-5;); and a small fragment apparently from the second century BC appears to indicate that a Parmenion son of Architeles dedicated or otherwise benefited the *agoranomion* (*IG* XII.7 434). Moreover, men named Parmenion appear but 10 times in only six other inscriptions from Aigiale, and in seven of those cases Parmenion is son or father of either an Alkimedon or an Architeles: *IG* XII.7 389.7-8 (200-150 BC): ἐπειδὴ Κριτόλαος καὶ Παρμενίων | οἱ Ἀλκιμέδοντος (also 25-27); 421.1-6 (I BC): [Π]αρμενίων Ἀρχιτέλου | γυμνασιάρχης καὶ | Ἀρχιτέλης Παρμενίωνος | υπογυμνησιάρχης καὶ οἱ ἐφηβοὶ | Ἀλκιμέδων Παρμενίωνος; note that one of the ephebes is (11) Κριτόλαος Ἀλεξιμάχου; 425.1-5 (I AD): γυμνασίαρχος | Ἀρχιτέλης Παρμενίωνος καὶ ὁ υπογυμν[α]σίαρχος Παρμενίων Γόργου καὶ οἱ ἐφηβοὶ Ἀλ[κ]ιμέδων Ἐπικράτους, Παρμενίων Ἀρχιτέλου; 434 (II BC): [Π]αρμενίων Ἀρχιτέλου — — | τὸ ἀγορανόμιον καὶ τὸ — — | [κ]αὶ τὸ προστόν; 440 (II/I BC): Παρμενίων — — — | τὸν πατέρα — — —; 485a (II/I BC): [Θ]εοφείδης | Παρμενίωνος | χαῖρε. While it is impossible to construct a precise familial relation between the two, the tight prosopographic data suggest that we are dealing with related individuals. See Nigdelis (1990) 44. The affiliations of the other two drafters, Kratesilochos son of Hegias and Leonteus son of Hegias, are unknown, but they look like brothers; the name Hegias does not appear elsewhere in Amorgan inscriptions.

¹⁰⁷ *IG* XII.7 245 + XII suppl. p. 144, lines 3-9 (with Robert [1929] 20-30, who first connected the fragment with *IG* XII.7 237; also id. [1933] 438-442, and Vanseveren [1937] 314-315): οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ αἰρεθέντες ὑπὸ | τοῦ δήμου κατὰ [ψ]ήφισμα, Πάγκριτος Παγκρίτου, Ἀγὴνῳ Ἀμεινοκράτου, Εὐνομίδης | Κλέωνος γράψα[ι] νόμον καθ' ὃν τὸ τε ἀργύριον ἐγδανείσθ[η]σεται ὁ ἀνατέθεικεν καὶ [ἐ]πιδόκεν ἢ γυνὴ Ἐρμιοκράτου τοῦ Παγκρίτου Ἡγησα[ρετὴ] Αἰνησικράτου).

¹⁰⁸ *Syll.*³ 672.23-27 [= Laum, *Stiftungen* 28]: οἱ δὲ θέλλοντες δανείσασθαι ποτιγ[ρ]αφέσθωσαν ποτὶ τοὺς κατεσταμένους ἐπιμελητὰς | ἐπὶ ὑποθέματι ἀγρῶν· ἔστω δὲ ὁ

borrowers to clear. Five hundred drachmas was a lot of money, arable land was precious at Delphi, and these sureties had to vouch for money and land worth more than 1500 drachmas. No other Hellenistic endowment imposes quite such a restrictive package of constraints on borrowers, so that there too if it weren't so clear what a good deal the borrowers were receiving (valuable foreign capital, without *agio*, at rock-bottom rates) one might have been tempted to suggest that in the face of such restrictions landowning elites were compelled to borrow, as a sort of liturgy.¹⁰⁹ But the point of the restrictions, it has been argued, was to ensure that only the wealthiest had access to the very attractive opportunity.¹¹⁰ The procedure speaks not of forced extraction of capital from the rich, but rather a concerted and rational attempt by elites to control access to the economic benefits offered by the endowment's operational side.

I suggest that a similar dynamic existed at Aigiale as well; that the requirement that borrowers secure the permanent debt with real estate worth ten times more was not confiscatory of elite wealth (an oppressive and likely counterproductive effort, for a paltry 200 drachmas per year), but rather a way for elites to monopolize access to the loans. Who else had 2,000 drachmas worth of land that was otherwise clear of liens? Who else could clear the high barrier to entry? And the modest loans may have been but a minor consideration. For if I am right, borrowers received much more than the 200 drachmas. The convenience of institutional support in the collection of rents was a benefit. But greater were permanent shelter of at least 2,000 drachmas of assessable wealth and the freedom to walk away from the obligation through cession. At Aigiale, while few could afford to borrow on these terms, the maximum loan ensured that at least ten wealthy landowners could take advantage.

ἀγρὸς ἄξιος τοῦ διδομένου ἀργυρίου διπλασίου· δανειζόντω δὲ μὴ ἔλασσον μνᾶν πέντε· καθιστάντων δὲ καὶ ἐγγύους οἱ δανειζόμενοι οὕς καὶ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ εὐδοκῶντι· οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ [ἐγ]γυοὶ καὶ βεβαιωτῆρες ἔστωσαν τῶν ἐνεχέρων (“Those who wish to borrow shall register with the appointed overseers against landed security; the land shall be worth twice the amount of the money given (i.e. lent). They [the overseers] shall lend no less than five minas and the borrowers shall produce sureties whomever the overseers approve. The same sureties shall be guarantors of the pledges as well”). On the legal protections imposed see, Dimopoulou-Piliouni (2007).

¹⁰⁹ Larsen (1959) 367 suggests that “the arrangements” of a contemporary Delphic endowment, funded by Attalos’ brother Eumenes (Laum, *Stiftungen* 29) “suggest a desire to have the entire community attain the status of a *rentier*. To be sure, if this ideal had been realized, it would largely have been deceptive since the income was supplied by money loaned to citizens of the community who were compelled to keep up payments of interest.”

¹¹⁰ Sosin (2004) 191-196.

Moreover, this may not have been the only example of institutionalized shelter derived from permanent encumbrance. We are told that debtors were to owe the principal against the securities against which they borrowed — just as they did in the case of loans of tribal money — for all time, with no possibility of repayment.¹¹¹ Unfortunately, Aegialitan epigraphy does not shed light on this apparent precedent for lending ‘public’ money against private real estate in perpetuity. Kritolaos and the relative who helped determine how to invest his money may have been following an existing path rather than blazing a new one, emulating others who had formulated law or convention in the ‘tax-code’ or elsewhere, whose cumulative effect could be the diminution of elites’ tax liability, consequent displacement of burdens onto others, and even a loss to state tax revenues. This story is as old as it is current.

ENDOWMENTS AT THESPIAI

While Kritolaos endowed money, the conditions of the endowment were such that the interest owed on debts to it effectively became rents on land. The endowment of land *per se* could be big business. If but a small number of landowners were served by the Amorgan endowments, and many more by those at Mylasa, these were hardly the only places in which gods and governments managed substantial tracts of land under the aegis of endowments.

A large inscription cut at Thespiiai in the second half of the third century, *I. Thespiiai* 54-55, contains a record of lease regulations (54.1-11), a record of leases of properties sacred to the Muses (54.12-23), recognition of the establishment of an endowment to fund the Mouseia (54.24-28), a decree in honor of a Gorgouthos, who had endowed land for the Muses’ benefit (54.29-36), record of leases of property sacred to Hermes

¹¹¹ *IG* XII.7 515.19-22: τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον ἐνολ[φει]λέσθω παρὰ τοῖς δανεισαμένοις ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑποθήκαις ἐφ’ αἷς ἐδα[ν]εῖσται ἕκαστος, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ φυλετικά, εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον, καὶ μὴ ἔλ[στω] αὐτοῦ πρᾶξις. Interest payments were made on the same schedule as “sacred money,” which seems to suggest a program of lending sacred funds: 17-19: [τούς τε] γείτονας παρα[γρ]άφειν κύκλοι. τὸν δὲ τόκον οἱ δεδανεισμένοι | [τὸ ἀργ]ύριον ἀποδιδότωσ[α]ν δέκατον, καταβάλλοντες αἰεὶ ἐν μηνὶ Ἀπα[τουρ]ιώνι ἐν τεῖ βουλεῖ, κα[θ]άπερ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα (“The borrowers of the money shall render the interest of one tenth, paying always in the month of Apaturion in the council, just like the sacred money”). These are not included among the apparently permanent loans of tribal money.

and endowed for acquisition of oil (54.37-59), record of leases of land sacred, perhaps, to the Muses (55.1-9), a document enabling leasehold for a garden sacred to the Muses (55.10-28), and record of lease of another garden (55.29-32). The larger of the document's two inscribed faces was produced by four different hands over time, each responsible for a discrete section.¹¹² The generic patchwork of the whole prompted Osborne to think it a "rather mixed up document recording unrelated legacies as well as leases"¹¹³ and, as such, a reflection of the regional economic crisis of which Polybius famously wrote.¹¹⁴ But it has been suggested that the leases here recorded were of endowed land, so that the stone was not a mess at all, but rather a sensible effort to centralize documentation pertaining to endowed land, a working archive of sorts.¹¹⁵ On this suggestion, the composite nature of the text reflects an orderly evolution and an effort to treat endowments as such and similarly, whether based on money (*I. Thespiai* 54.24-28) or land (54.29-36). Common treatment alone bespeaks a certain degree of sophistication, since there was at the time neither a Greek work nor a common expressed legal category for the mechanism.

Such a degree of fiscal organization is attested elsewhere at Thespiai. The magistrate list from the city reveals that Thespiai elected two σιτῶνη ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν, a ταμίας (*sc.* ἐπὶ τὸν) βασιλικὸν, two ἐπὶ τὸν καθιαιρωμένον σιτῶνη, a ταμίας ἐπὶ τὸν καθιαιρωμένον, and three σιτοπῶλη.¹¹⁶ These standing magistracies appear to have been devoted to the management of at least dedicated, and perhaps endowed, funds for the acquisition and distribution of grain.¹¹⁷ Roesch thought the one set of officers oversaw purchase of grain with revenues accruing from royal largesse, and the second, grain purchased with sacred revenues.¹¹⁸ Whatever the logic of this distinction, it is clear that there was one and that it was compelling enough to bear on Thespiai's stable of regular magistrates.

¹¹² Feyel (1936) 389-391.

¹¹³ Osborne (1985) 320.

¹¹⁴ Osborne (1985) 321.

¹¹⁵ Sosin (2001a) 47-51.

¹¹⁶ *I. Thespiai* 84.31-36. Roesch (1965) 220-224.

¹¹⁷ For others see e.g. *IG* XII.6 172; Migeotte (1993) 12-13 [*SEG* XLIII 205]; Tréheux (1986) 419-421 (with plate), with Gauthier, *Bull. épigr.* (1988) 398, Tréheux (1991) 147-149; Laum, *Stiftungen* 129b [= *I. Didyma* 488, Bringmann, *Schenkungen* 286 (E)]; Sosin (2003); Laum, *Stiftungen* 29 [= *Syll.*³ 671 A, B; Bringmann, *Schenkungen* 93 (E3, 2)]; Welles, *Royal Corr.* 3.94-101. On the phenomenon: Migeotte (1991), (1990), (1998).

¹¹⁸ Roesch (1965) 23, 220.

The land leases at Thespiiai show a similar, and perhaps more intuitive, distinction between public and sacred properties.¹¹⁹ This does not seem to be the same division, but it too bespeaks fiscal organization, as does the orderly renewal of some two dozen leases of sacred land.¹²⁰ The practice of funding standing costs with leases, some of them endowed, was not born in the period of alleged crisis. Half a century earlier Philetairos of Pergamon had dedicated¹²¹ land at Thespiiai, which seems to have been endowed for acquisition of oil and perhaps to meet other expenses as well.¹²² Thespiiai has also yielded many boundary stones from the fourth and third centuries, some of which marked a private dedication and others the property of a cult association, either of which might have been endowed.¹²³ By the time Ptolemy Philopator and his wife Arsinoe dedicated 25,000 drachmas for the purchase of land, whose endowment was to fund celebration of the Mouseia, the Thespiaian market in public and sacred rentals, and in endowed land, appears to have been vibrant and well organized.¹²⁴ Business was brisk, characterized by hard bargaining if not necessarily competitive bidding.¹²⁵ Local landowners, presumably but not certainly elites, endowed great numbers of properties whose lease generated many thousands of drachmas per year for use mainly by the Muses.¹²⁶ The pattern here is similar in longevity, pace, vigor, organization, and visibility to that seen at Mylasa. It need be no more indicative of crisis than the Mylasan texts are.¹²⁷

¹¹⁹ Public: *I. Thespiiai* 53.4, 8, 11; sacred: *I. Thespiiai* 55.3.

¹²⁰ *I. Thespiiai* 56.

¹²¹ Laum, *Stiftungen* 24a, 25.

¹²² *I. Thespiiai* 58: Φιλέτηρος Ἀττάλῳ Περγαμεὺς ἀνέθηκε τὰν γᾶν | τῆς Μώσης | τῆς Ἑλικωνιάδεσσι ἱερὰν εἶμεν τὸν πᾶν]τα χρόνον; 59: Φιλ[έ]τηρος Ἀττάλῳ Περγ[α]μεὺς ἀνέθηκε | τὰν γᾶν τῆς Μώσης τῆς Ἑλικωνιάδεσσι ἱερὰν | εἶμεν ἐν τὸν | πάντα χρόνον; 60: [ῶρος] τᾶ[ς] γᾶς [τᾶς] | [ἱερ]ᾶς ἀν ἀνέθε[κε] | [Φι]-λέτηρος Ἀττάλῳ | Περγαμεὺς τῆς Μ[ώ]σης κῆ τῆς συνθῆτης τοῖ<ς> | Φιλετηρεῖεσσι ἱερὰν | [ε]ἶμεν τὸν πάντα χρόνον; 61: Φιλέτηρος Ἀττάλῳ Περγαμεὺς ἀνέθηκε τὰν γᾶν τοῖ | Ἑρμῇ ἐν τὸ ἐλλοχρίστιον | ἱερὰν εἶμεν | ἐν τὸν ἅπαντα | χρόνον.

¹²³ *I. Thespiiai* 63-83, especially 65: ὅρος τᾶς | γᾶς τᾶς [ἱα]ρᾶς τῶν σ[υν]θῆτων τᾶμ | Μωσάων Εἰσιοδείων; 66: Θεόφεστος | Δαίλλεος | τοῖ Ἀγαθοῖ | Δήμονι | τὸ τέμενος ἀνέθηκεν. | ὅρος ἱερῶ; 67 (as 66); 68: ἁ γᾶ | ἱερὰ Διονούσιω κῆ τᾶς | πόλιος Θεισιπέων ἀν ἀνέθηκε Ξελνέας Πούθωνος; 69-71 (as 68).

¹²⁴ *I. Thespiiai* 62; Sosin (2001a) 51-57.

¹²⁵ Osborne (1988); Thespiiai: 292-297; bargaining and bidding: 296.

¹²⁶ For a survey of the evidence for the Thespiaian leases — not just those that have been identified as belonging to endowments — see Pernin (2004).

¹²⁷ Or, for that matter, others: increased activity in real-estate visible in the Attic *rationes centesimarum* attended a financial boom rather than crisis; Lambert (1997).

Furthermore, at Thespiiai, as at Aigiale and Minoa, elites appear to have been both benefactors and beneficiaries. If the Ptolemaic endowment is any indication, some landowners may not have endowed their holdings by donating them (as Pliny) or encumbering them (as at Aigiale), but by selling them (as at Mylasa). If the high prices that the plots purchased with Ptolemy's money fetched, 22,000 and 2,800 drachmas,¹²⁸ are at all representative, landowners engaged in these sales were not small-fry. Moreover, prosopography suggests, as Osborne has shown, that at Thespiiai elites dominated the market in leasing this fertile, endowed, sacred land. This might slightly overstate the case,¹²⁹ but it does appear that elites were most heavily invested and "seem to have had it both ways: they enjoyed the productive potential of the sacred land and will then have paraded themselves before the city at the sacrifices and gymnastic activities which their rents served to finance."¹³⁰ The honor was not compensation for expenses relinquished reluctantly to the benefit of the state; honor came as an additional benefit. Wealthy landowners were not only selling and/or donating their properties to the god, but were also leasing properties from the god. Lessees at Thespiiai may well have assumed the pomp and pride of liturgists, but payment of (often low) rents on fertile endowed land was not the same as underwriting expenses out of pocket. Liturgists they were not.

The picture that emerges from the Thespiaian endowments is in one respect consistent with that from Amorgos: the endowments were closed circuits. The wealthy sold, or perhaps donated, fertile land to Hermes or to the Muses, toward whose cult the land was endowed. The wealthy, mostly, leased the land from the gods (not only that, but family groups appear to have worked together to preserve control in the rental market).¹³¹ We find the same at Aigiale. There is, however, a critical difference. At Aigiale landowners may have purchased immunity, or at least shelter, but received very little money in return. At least some

¹²⁸ *I. Thespiiai* 62.12, 19. Bringmann (2001) 211-212, suggests that the endowment was established because the gift was too large to be used immediately. This would be surprising.

¹²⁹ Pernin (2004) 228-230, cautions.

¹³⁰ Osborne (1988) 297, (1985); on which see Knoepfler (1992) 468-470 no. 100.

¹³¹ Pernin (2004) 228-230. The profile of elite participation in Thespiiai is in some ways like that of Athenian counterparts in mining. Athenian liturgical-class elites did not monopolize the market, but they did dominate it (especially visible in contrast with leases of less valuable public land), by scale of investment, repetition of leasehold, fraction of total leases held, and family participation: Shipton (2001).

Thespiaian landowners, by contrast, seem to have been raising enormous sums of capital, as others at Mylasa did. One landowner, a woman named Menia,¹³² sold a property for 22,000 drachmas, more than the combined capital of the famous Attalid endowments at Delphi.¹³³ Whether landowners who sold properties may also have leased land from the Muses, as their counterparts at Mylasa did we don't know. The territory of Thespiiai was fertile, and if some landowners preferred to trade the returns — and assessability — of private property for a rented farm and many thousands of drachmas up front, they would have been neither the first nor the last to do so. The apparent vitality of the rental market suggests that plenty of elites were happy to rent and probably to limit their portfolios of assessable wealth. And if the lessees derived some honor from paying rents, the individuals who originally sold or donated their land to Hermes or the Muses were enshrined in the names by which the endowed plots were called. Such became “the land of So-and-so.”¹³⁴ Whatever the motives, one thing is clear: there were benefits on both sides of the transaction, so that, here too, compulsion is not a part of the story and liability shielding might be.

WHO PROFITS? CONTROLLING THE TERMS OF GIVING

These three episodes are part of a single story, points on a spectrum of benefits and behaviors associated with skillful deployment of endowments toward multiple ends. At Mylasa, landowners sold land, sometimes for considerable sums, and often then leased back the same land at modest rates. At Aigiale, landowners did not sell, but borrowed small sums against land worth ten times the debt, such that a permanent lien would always convey with the land, even if ownership should change. At Thespiiai, landowners either sold or donated valuable parcels of land. Leases of endowed plots were by and large claimed by their elite peers if not the sellers and donors themselves. In all three cases landowners relinquished title (or at Aigiale, clear title, anyway) to land and attendant liability to taxation, while reserving the option of enjoyment of the same or similar properties at low rates. In all cases the endowment was the

¹³² Sosin (2001a) 51-57.

¹³³ *Syll.*³ 672 [Laum, *Stiftungen* 28]; *Syll.*³ 671A, B [Laum, *Stiftungen* 29].

¹³⁴ Sosin (2001a) 51.

delivery mechanism. In all cases motives must have been part pious, part financial.

It has been argued that at least two Delphic endowments offered modest benefits to the general populace, in the form of subsidized education — in the gymnasium, not known as the preserve of the poor — and the good spirits and free food that accompanied annual religious celebrations; but that, meanwhile, the same endowments extended substantial, year-round, economic benefits to the very small and privileged segment of Delphic society that was financially secure enough to meet the strict eligibility requirements.¹³⁵ The same asymmetry existed in the cases studied here. Recall that Thraseas sold an estate at Mylasa for the large sum of 7,000 drachmas. We do not know what the sum of his real holdings was worth,¹³⁶ but this transaction certainly removed a large block of land from the assessing eye of the *polis*; in return he was to pay 300 drachmas in rent.¹³⁷ That was non-trivial for, say, a wage laborer — nearly a year's wages — but it was scarcely more than a third of the cost of wine alone for an annual festival at the Carian village of Kypranda (on the territory of Kaunos), where 850 drachmas were spent on 84 *metretai*¹³⁸ — and that in a region so productive of fruit that Strabo thought it sickened the air,¹³⁹ where prices ought to have been low. Scattered data suggest that 10 drachmas for a *metretes* of wine is not likely to be wildly unrepresentative.¹⁴⁰ Thraseas' rents, then, would not have financed more than a modest celebration. Some moderate number will have enjoyed religion and peers for a brief period, while Thraseas himself will have effectively sheltered his liability to civic taxation to the tune of more than a talent.

¹³⁵ Sosin (2004) 191-196.

¹³⁶ He was certainly active in the market: *I. Mylasa* I 207, 208, 209, 210, 212, 214.

¹³⁷ *I. Mylasa* I 212.4-5, 9-10.

¹³⁸ *P. Cair.Zen.* III 59341a.4 and 9-14: ὁ γεωργός μου Θήρων ἐπρίατο παρὰ ἡ τῆς πόλεως παρασχέιν οἶνον τῇ γινομένῃ ἡ πανηγύρει ἐν Κυπράνδοις κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, ἢ ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐγὼ παρέσχον τὸν οἶνον μετρητὰς πδ τὸμ μετρητῆν ἀνὰ ἑ ἑ ὃ γίνονται ἑ ὄν. The text does not indicate whether this was the *sole* provision contract for the festival, so that we cannot exclude the possibility that even more was spent on wine.

¹³⁹ Strabo 14.2.3.

¹⁴⁰ *IG* II² 1672.ii.a.204-205; *IG* XI.1 154.A.15; *IG* II² 1245.6-7; *P. Col.* III 55.7-8; *P. Petr.* III 67.B.12; *P. Enteux.* 34.4. Prices of wine on Delos seem to have dropped in the late third and early second centuries, a phenomenon that might be explained by "cheap foreign competition": Reger (1994) 233-238, quote at 236; our ability to arrive at certain conclusions here, however, could be confounded by changing use of the words *keramion* and *metretes* at Delos, which might have been used sometimes interchangeably, sometimes not: Larsen (1959) 394.

At Aigiale, Kritolaos' endowment paid out 200 drachmas per year, even less than Thraseas' rent. Now, Aigiale was no booming metropolis, but even there, 200 drachmas did not buy much religion. A third-century benefactor from nearby Arkesine offered a total of 1500 drachmas to support the six-day celebration of the Itonia.¹⁴¹ On other occasions the Itonia drew 700 festival-goers, for whose benefit a benefactor contributed 3000 drachmas,¹⁴² and 500 attendees at a cost of not less than 1000 drachmas.¹⁴³ In all of these cases the total cost of the festival may have been higher; we know only what the benefactor paid out, which might or might not have matched the total burden. The Itonia was a six-day festival, compared to Kritolaos' two. The 200 drachmas generated by Kritolaos' endowment were to be used to acquire an ox, nine *metretai* of wine, and one choinix of wheat, each, for all attending the feast in the gymnasium.¹⁴⁴ This was surely a fine event. But with a

¹⁴¹ He in effect waived the 500 drachmas that the city provided as well as the 1000 drachmas in contributions collected, as it were, at the door: *IG* XII.7 24.8-15: καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ | ἐπέδωκεν τοῖς [ι]ο[υ]σιν εἰς τὴν | ἑορτὴν πρὸς τῷ ἑκ τῆς θεοῦ πατρὶ τῆς πόλεως εἰς μὲν τὰ ἱερεῖα | [τ]ὸ ἐπαναλωθὲν δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὰς συμβολὰς | [γ]ενόμενον δραχμὰς χιλίας, καὶ | τοῦτο ἅπαν ἀφῆκεν.

¹⁴² *IG* XII.7 22.7-22: καὶ παρὴγγειλεν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ μετὰ κηρύγμα[τος] | πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὰ Ἰτόνια ἀσυμβόλους | Ἀρκεσινεῖς πάντας καὶ ξένους τοὺς | ἐνδημοῦντας, καὶ ἐλθόντων εἰς τὰ | Ἰτόνια ἑπτακοσίων φιλότιμος γεγένηται περὶ τὴν πομπὴν καὶ τὴν θυσία[ν] | τῆς θεοῦ, καὶ τοὺς ἰόντας εἰς τὴν ἑορτή[ν] | ἐστιάσας λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἡμέρας ἕξ, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀνάλωσεν εἰς τὰ | ἱερεῖα πρὸς τῷ ἑκ τῆς πόλεως ἔλαβε δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας καὶ τὸ εἰς τὰς συμβολὰς γινόμενον δραχμὰς διςχιλίας πεντακοσίας, καὶ τοῦτο ἅπαν ἐπέδωκεν καὶ | ἀφῆκεν ἀτελεῖς τοὺς ἰόντας τῶν συμβολῶν. Similar benefactions at *IG* XII.7 33, XII suppl. 330 (500 attendees at a cost only partially preserved), both Arkesine, II BC.

¹⁴³ *IG* XII.7 241.4-21: ἐπειδὴ Ἐπινομίδης | Θεογένου ἄρξας τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν εἰς Ἰτόνια | τῆς τε θυσίας καὶ τῆς πομπῆς ὅπως γένηται | τῇ θεῷ ὡς καλλίστη πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ἐποίησατο, καὶ τῷ πορευομένων εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν | καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπεμελήθη, τοὺς μὲν | τόκους τοὺς γινομένους αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος πελάνου τῇ θεῷ, ἀφ' ὧμ πρότερον ἢ θυσία συνετελεῖτο, ἐπιδούς τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἱερουργῶν εἰς κατασκευὴν τοῦ τεμένου, τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ γινόμενον εἰς ἑὺμ βούν τὴν θυθεῖσα[ν] | καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δαπάνην ἅπασαν ἀναλώσας | ἑκ τῶν ἰδίων, καὶ τοὺς πορευομένους εἰς τὴν ἑορτή[ν], | ὄντας οὐκ ἐλάσσους πεντακοσίων πεντήκοντα, | ἀφῆκεν ἀσυμβόλους, προκηρύξας ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ | ὡς ὁ νόμος προστάσσει καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, γενομένου τοῦ ἀναλώματος οὐκ ἐλάσσονος δραχμῶν | χιλίων.

¹⁴⁴ Ox: οἱ δὲ αἰρεθέντες λα[β]όντες τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ πῖτρον παρα[χρ]ῆμα ἑμ μηνὶ Ἀπατουριῶν ὠ[ν]ησάσθωσαν βούν ἄρσενά μὴ νεώτερον ἐτῶν δύο καὶ θυσάτωσαν ἐν | τῇ Καλλιστράτου Ἀρτ οἰ[κ]ίαι (*IG* XII.7 515.42-45); wine: ὑπο[τι]θέσθωσαν δὲ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ ἀπὸ [το]ῦ [ἀργ]υρίου εἰς τὴν ἐχομένη[ν] | [ῆμ] ἔραν τιμὴν οἴνου μετρητῶν ἑννέα, καὶ πα[ρα]τιθ[έ]τωσαν τὴν τε διακον[ί]αν | πᾶσαν κατὰ ταῦτά τῃ ἐχομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ [τ]ὸν οἶνον (65-68); wheat: σιτομετρεῖτωσαν δ[ε] | [οἰ] ἐπιμεληταὶ ὠνησάμενοι σῖτον πύρινον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀργυρίου (70-71).

budget of only 200 drachmas, the endowment's modest returns did not support a lavish or far-reaching affair, and were never meant to. While citizens, *paroikoi* and aliens were among the invited,¹⁴⁵ the endowment cannot have fed all such. Gauthier conjectured that perhaps 100-200 will have dined in the gymnasium.¹⁴⁶ Among them, Kritolaos' kin may have loomed large: the seven ephebe lists that survive from the period — five more or less complete — show rosters mostly in single digits,¹⁴⁷ and four of them contain at least one potential relative of Kritolaos.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, the law described a host of additional costs to be paid, out of pocket, by specially elected *epimeletai*, from wine, to additional victims, to unguents, to floral arrangements, and more.¹⁴⁹ Thus, a portion of the festival's 'public' outlay was an unfunded mandate on others, whose own contributions would have been outshone by the grandeur of Kritolaos'. This was not religion for the people, not a party for the masses;¹⁵⁰ 200 drachmas simply did not buy that. And this was an event for the gymnasium-going elite anyway.¹⁵¹ Meanwhile the price — to the city — was the sheltering of assessable real estate worth 20,000 drachmas.

¹⁴⁵ *IG* XII.7 515.55-57: [τοῖς τε πολίταις πᾶσιν τοῖς παρα[γε]νομένοις εἰς τὴν Αἰγιά[λη]ν [καὶ παροῖκοις καὶ] ἰ ξένοις τοῖς παρα[γε]νομένοις.

¹⁴⁶ Gauthier (1980) 218.

¹⁴⁷ *IG* XII.7 421 (complete, 10 ephebes), 422 (complete, 6), 423 (complete, 8), 424 (complete, 9), 425 (complete, perhaps 6), 426 (too fragmentary to count), 427 (too fragmentary to count). If, say, 8 ephebes represented 1-2% of the male citizen population, then there were roughly 400-800 such; add another, say, 200-400 non-citizens, for a very rough total of 600-1200 males on the ground, and by Gauthier's estimate, the endowment entertained 17-33% of the male population.

¹⁴⁸ *IG* XII.7 241 (I BC) attests to Parmenion son of Architeles as gymnasiarch and son of Parmenion hypogymnasiarch (lines 1-4), and the ephebes include Alkimedon son of Parmenion (6), Kritolaos son of Euphragenes (7), and Kritolaos son of Aleximachos (11); *IG* XII.7 422.8, 9 (I BC) records ephebes named Aristas son of Kritolaos and Kritolaos son of Onesikrates; *IG* XII.7 424.6 (I BC) records an ephebe named Kritolaos son of Euakes (note Euakes son of Hermokrates at 421.8 and Euakes son of Kr- at 427.3); *IG* XII.7 425 (I BC) features gymnasiarch and hypogymnasiarch named Architeles son of Parmenion and Parmenion son of Gorgos (lines 2-3) and ephebes named Alkimedon son of Epikrates (3-4) and Parmenion son of Architeles (4-5). We cannot be certain that all of these men were related, but the lists do suggest that the family of our founder Kritolaos was a highly visible and perhaps dominant presence in Aigialitan gymnasial culture.

¹⁴⁹ Described at *IG* XII.7 515.49-65. Gallant (1991) 176, includes these additional expenses as among those supported by the endowment and concludes of the whole, "In this way, each member of the community received food during the three days of the feast and probably had some left over to take home." This seems optimistic, unless we define community as a thin slice of the total citizen population.

¹⁵⁰ Not the concern of the gymnasium anyway: Gauthier (1995).

¹⁵¹ Gauthier (1980) 218-219.

The benefits to the populace were real but modest and short-lived, while those enjoyed by the borrowers were substantial, year-round, permanent, and a drain on potential state revenues.

The coextensive, and seemingly competing, drives to religious duty and personal profit are not problematic, but merely a witness to the complexity of human motivation. In our only surviving speech from an Athenian *antidosis* trial the same litigant could declare it a duty of the wealthy to make themselves useful to their fellow citizens¹⁵² and then analogize his own liturgical service to the state with that of a slave to his master¹⁵³ — an ugly mash-up of honorable, voluntary giving and demeaning, forced extraction. Another speaker could complain that his half-brother's assumption of the same name as his own would compel judicial settlement whenever the two men's single name was selected for political, military, or liturgical office; this was in the speaker's words "deprivation" of a "shared and common (*sc.* right)."¹⁵⁴ The same speaker likened the extortive — *he* alleges — exactions of his half-brother's conniving mother from his poor, duped father to the state's extraction of services from *choregoi*.¹⁵⁵ The same Demosthenes, who as a young man observed that, since his father had left him sufficient wealth, it was perfectly just for the *polis* to demand that he pay *eisphora*,¹⁵⁶ would insist just ten years later that, even in the face of reports of Persian military escalation, Athens should not even try to extract from its wealthiest citizens the money that they had skillfully hidden in investments; rather it should let them — the best stewards of their own wealth — hold on to it until such time as it was right for them

¹⁵² Dem. 42.22: δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς εὐπόρους χρησίμους αὐτοὺς παρέχειν τοῖς πολίταις. The speaker's complaint was not that he should pay, but that his allegedly wealthier opponent had not.

¹⁵³ Dem. 42.32: καὶ γὰρ εἰ οἰκέτης ὑμῶν, μὴ πολίτης ἦν, ὁρῶντες ἄν μου τὴν φιλεργίαν καὶ τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίαν, ἀνεπαύσατ' ἄν με τῶν ἀναλωμάτων καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν δραπετεύοντα τῶν ἄλλων ἦλθετε. On the theme of liturgical service as enslavement see Tamiolaki (2013).

¹⁵⁴ Dem. 39.7-11, quote at 11: λοιπὸν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον [ἡμᾶς] εἰσιέναι. οὐκοῦν ἐφ' ἐκάστω τούτων δικαστήριον ἡμῖν ἢ πόλις καθιεῖ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ καὶ ἴσου, τοῦ τὸν λαχόντ' ἄρχειν, ἀποστερησόμεθα, ἀλλήλους δὲ πλυνοῦμεν, καὶ ὁ τῷ λόγῳ κρατήσας ἄρξει.

¹⁵⁵ Dem. 40.51: ἡ δὲ τούτων μήτηρ Πλαγγών, τρέφουσα μεθ' αὐτῆς τούτους καὶ θεραπαίνας συχνὰς καὶ αὐτὴ πολυτελῶς ζῶσα, καὶ εἰς ταῦτα τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν χορηγὸν ἑαυτῇ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχουσα καὶ πολλὰ δαπανὰν ἀναγκάζουσα, οὐκ ἴσα δήπου τῆς ἐκεῖνου οὐσίας ἐμοὶ ἀνήλωκεν.

¹⁵⁶ Dem. 27.66: προσεπικέεται δ' ἡ πόλις ἀξιοῦς' εἰσφέρειν, δικαίως· οὐσίαν γὰρ ἱκανὴν πρὸς ταῦτα κατέλειπέν μοι ὁ πατήρ.

to volunteer it.¹⁵⁷ Athenian forensic oratory does not give voice to the sort of militant anti-tax extremism that can be so easily heard in (especially American) contemporary political discourse. Rather, to the extent that we can generalize, liturgy-paying elites were variously accepting of the obligation and duty that came with their wealth and status, were in any case happy to claim credit and reward for the voluntary discharge of such, and were also keen to invest wealth so as to limit and control the scope and timing of their liability, and even turn service into profit.¹⁵⁸ Some may have been greedier or more generous than others — how would we know whether to trust their courtroom accounts anyway? But the point is that there is no reason to think that Athenian liturgists did not feel the competing pulls of civic service and personal enrichment.

What they did not like was to be pushed around, to be made to serve on another's terms: like a slave, like an old man in thrall to a manipulative woman, like the skillful investor who resents the confiscatory arrogance of a state less capable of turning a profit than he is. Pliny would have understood. When he wrote his friend Caninius Rufus suggesting the creation of an endowment, his first consideration was just this:

You ask of me in what manner the money that you have donated to our townspeople for a feast may remain safe after you have died; an admirable consideration, but not a decision to be made lightly. Should you disburse the full amount to the commonwealth, you must be wary lest it go to waste; should you donate plots of land, you must be wary lest they be neglected, as state lands are. To my mind I arrive at nothing more fitting than what I myself have done.¹⁵⁹

His solution to the problem of the state's incapacity was to establish an endowment. His reasons and motivations will have differed little from those of the founders and borrowers at Mylasa, Aegiale, and Thespiiai,

¹⁵⁷ Dem. 14.25-29.

¹⁵⁸ On timing, note Dem. 42.4, where the litigant suggests that the laws grant initiation of *antidosis* claims every year because personal fortunes fluctuate: διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ νόμοι καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ποιοῦσιν τὰς ἀντιδόσεις, ὅτι τὸ διευτυχεῖν συνεχῶς τῇ οὐσίᾳ οὐ πολλοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν διαμένειν εἴθισται. The contention is that liturgists know what and when they can pay; the state does not. On profit: weak as the charges brought against Ergokles and Philokrates may have been — at least so far as we read in Lys. 28 and 29 — they underline the potentially transformative, positive, effect of trierarchic service on one's wealth: Lys. 28.1, 29.3-4.

¹⁵⁹ Ep. 7.18: *Deliberas mecum quemadmodum pecunia, quam municipibus nostris in epulum obtulisti, post te quoque salua sit. Honesta consultatio, non expedita sententia. Numeres rei publicae summas: uerendum est ne dilabatur. Des agros: ut publici neglegentur. Equidem nihil commodius inuenio, quam quod ipse feci.*

who surely acted with a view to benefiting public education, public religion, public life, and their public reputation. But they and/or the legislators who crafted the precise mechanics of the institutions saw to it that endowments provided valuable benefits to small groups of wealthy elites, who in all likelihood needed no pressure to partake.

Such skillful use of endowments is not an isolated or extraordinary phenomenon, but part of a wider trend in which elites of the Hellenistic period exerted greater power over the terms on which they gave. We see this in sales of priesthoods, which could offer a menu of resulting exemptions, and afforded potential liturgists greater freedom to define the terms and timing of their service.¹⁶⁰ Formal euergetism is perhaps the most familiar chapter in this history. But there is another, in which elites collaborated to diminish the individual burden of giving, and not necessarily to the benefit of state coffers. We see this development, I suggest, already in the Athenian symmory systems of the fourth century, or the public subscriptions that came to be so popular in the Hellenistic period,¹⁶¹ or other such economic force-multiplication strategies.

But a most striking case comes from Miletos, where, according to a decree of 211/10 BC, resources were tight and state revenues low. With no option to levy *eisphora* or reduce public salaries, the city voted to create an annuity fund.¹⁶² Willing subscribers were to contribute 3,600 drachmas,¹⁶³ in two instalments, on their own behalf or that of another,¹⁶⁴ and receive

¹⁶⁰ E.g. *Syll.*³ 1003. 24-30: ἐὰν δὲ ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχιλίας δραχμὰς ἢ εὐρηῖα ἢ ἱερωσύνη καὶ ἀτελὴς ἔσται ὁ πριάμενος ἢ λαμπαδαρχίας ἀγωνοθεσίας ἵπποτροφίας ἢ ἀρχιθεωρίας γυμνασιαρχίας· ἐὰν δὲ ὑπὲρ μυριάς καὶ διςχιλίας δραχμὰς ἀγοράσῃ, ἀτελὴς ἔσται καὶ τριηραρχίας καὶ οἰκονομίας καὶ νεωποίας ἢ καὶ προεισφορᾶς χρημάτων.

¹⁶¹ Symmories: e.g. Christ (2006) 146-194 *passim*; subscriptions: Migeotte (1992).

¹⁶² *Milet* I.3 147.3-7 [VI.1 180]: 3-7: ὅπως τὰ ἐνλείποντα ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἐνιαντῶι πορισθῇ δυνατῶς καὶ συμφερόντως τῷ δήμῳ, μήτε εἰσφορᾶς διὰ ταῦτα γενομένης ὑπὸ μηθενὸς μήτε τῷ μισθοφόρῳ ἀφαιρέσεως διὰ τὸ πεπονθῆναι τὰς τε κοινὰς καὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἐκάστου προσόδους γεγεννημένης ἐπὶ πλείονα ἔτη κατὰ τὴν χάραν ἀφορίας (translation below); for the date see Wörle (1988) 432-437.

¹⁶³ Perhaps an even talent in heavy Milesian drachmas: Sosin (2001b) 166-175. But against the suggestion see Migeotte (2012) 6-7.

¹⁶⁴ *Milet* I.3 147.7-14: τοὺς μὲν βουλομένους τῷ πολιτῶν ἢ πολιτίδων δοῦνα[ι] ἢ τῇ πόλει δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας ἑξακοσίας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἢ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων, ἢ τὸ ἴσον ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου πλῆθος, ἀπογράφεσθαι μὲν πρὸς τὸν ὑπογραμματῆα τῆς βουλῆς ἕως τῆς ὀγδόης ἱσταμένου τοῦ Πυανεψιώνος μηνός, ἢ διαγράφειν δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς δημοσίας τραπέζης τοῦ ἐψηφισμένου παλραχρήμα μὲν στατήρας ἑκατόν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἑσχατον τῇ ὀγδόῃ<ι> ἱσταμένου τοῦ Ἀρτεμισιώνος τοῦ ἐπὶ Κριτοβούλου.

in turn 30 drachmas, each, per month, until death,¹⁶⁵ upon which payments would cease and the donor's relatives receive 150 drachmas toward burial.¹⁶⁶ Miletos secured 39 contributions from 34 individuals.¹⁶⁷ This was a stunning achievement, especially since the decree claims the impossibility of *eisphora* owing to widespread impoverishment.¹⁶⁸

If the state bank, which administered the capital, were to invest it at a reasonable and common rate of 12% per year, the fund would have yielded Miletos a meager 2,808 drachmas annually, until the beneficiaries started to die out; every death tipped the scale in the state's favor. But until then, the state had to work hard to make this project pay. Investors, on the other hand, would recoup their cost simply by living another 10 years. Beyond that date the public bank had to be even more aggressive in order to avoid losses. It is therefore most striking that the decree contains a rider clarifying the ramifications of contributing on another's behalf:

if a person declares another name of a male or female citizen then the resulting stipend (*siteresion*) shall be given to him (i.e. the donor) while the declared are living. If the declarant predeceases then the declared shall receive the reserved sum for successive time.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ *Milet* I.3 147.16-18: ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ δοθέντος τῷ ἰ δήμῳ λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως δραχμὰς τριάκοντα κατὰ μῆν[α] ἰ τῶν δόντων ἑκάστον, ἕως ἂν ζῇ.

¹⁶⁶ *Milet* I.3 147.48-51: ἐὰν δὲ τινες τῶν δόντων τῇ πόλει τὸ ἐκκεῖμενον πλῆθος ἐγγλ[ί]πωσι τὸν βίον, τοῦ μὲν δοθέντος καὶ τοῦ ἐξαιρουμένου σιτηρεσίου ἰ ἀπολελύσθαι τὸν δῆμον, δίδοσθαι δὲ εἰς ταφήν τοῖς προσήκουσιν ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα.

¹⁶⁷ Recorded at *Milet* I.3 147.87-104.

¹⁶⁸ *Milet* I.3 147.3-7 [VI.1 180]: ὅπως τὰ ἐνλείποντα ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἐνιαυτῷ πορισθῇ δυνατῶς καὶ συμφερόντως τῷ δήμῳ, μήτε εἰσφορᾷ διὰ ταῦτα γενομένης ὑπὸ μηθενὸς μήτε τῶν μισθοφόρων ἀφαίρσεως διὰ τὸ πεπονηκέναι τὰς τε κοινὰς καὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἑκάστου προσόδους γεγεννημένης ἐπὶ πλείονα ἔτη κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀφορίας; the precise meaning of this crucial phrase is uncertain. "So that the deficits in the current year may be provided for ably and to the benefit of the people without there being eisphora by anyone or reduction of wages" (i.e. without our having to levy such, or on condition of there being none such; so Migeotte, *L'emprunt public* 97 p. 306: "sans que personne verse pour cela de contribution et sans diminuer les salaires publics"); perhaps more simply: "... since there was no eisphora by anyone or reduction of wages" (i.e. such was attempted/mooted but failed/unattempted), or "... since there is no (sc. prospect of) eisphora by anyone or reduction of wages" (i.e. such was not even attempted, owing to the conviction that it would fail, or some other cause).

¹⁶⁹ *Milet* I.3 147.72-75: ἐὰν δὲ τις ἕτερον ἀπογράψῃ ὄνομα τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ πολιτ[ί]δων, δίδοσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ γινόμενον σιτηρέσιον ζώντων τῶν ἀπογεγραμμένων. ἐὰν δὲ προεγλίπῃ ὁ ἀπογράφας, λαμβανέτω τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἰ χρόνων τὸ ἐξαιρούμενον ὁ ἀπογραφείς.

A donor who gave on behalf of another received payment until that other person died, at which point the stipend was to cease; or, if the donor died first, the other was to receive the stipend until death. Such contributions extended the state's obligation beyond the life expectancy of the donor, to the advantage of beneficiaries and disadvantage of the fisc. Milesians were not demographers, but they could do the math. Of the 39 donations, 22 were made on behalf of others, most probably sons and daughters;¹⁷⁰ of the 17 who contributed in their own names, two were females under the *kyrieia* of men not said to be their husbands, and so perhaps orphaned minors,¹⁷¹ and two were male minors.¹⁷² Thus, of all of the donations, roughly two thirds were made on behalf of a younger beneficiary or else by a young beneficiary on his or her own behalf. Even without knowing the ages of these beneficiaries it seems a safe assumption that many of them expected to live at least 11 years beyond the fund's creation.

In a period of allegedly protracted and widespread impoverishment, both public and private, Milesian elites simply could not find the money to pay a 'tax'. But for an annuity fund, nearly three dozen individuals managed to discover quite a huge sum of silver. Even fewer families: Günther has shown that roughly a third of the contributors may have belonged to only four extended families.¹⁷³ The decree asserts grave illiquidity, but the decreed solution bespeaks something else: a liturgical class not only unwilling to part with its cash, but also quite able to bar the state from exercising a claim on their assets — not only that, but able also to frame and enact a bailout plan that was ostensibly "for the

¹⁷⁰ Only two donated on behalf of others *and* themselves: Herodes son of Zenon, *Milet* I.3 147.89: Ἡρώιδης Ζήνωνος ὑπὲρ Ἑκατωνύμου τοῦ Ἐπικράτου; 98: Ἡρώιδης Ζήνωνος. Hestaios son of Pantainos, 90-91: Ἑστιαῖος Παντα[ίλ]ου ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίδου τοῦ Μέμνονος; 98: [Ἑ]στιαῖος Πανταίνου.

¹⁷¹ Philoumene daughter of Heragoras, *Milet* I.3 147.102: Φιλουμένη Ἡραγόρου μετὰ κυρίου Ἐπικράτου τοῦ Βάτωνος; Metrodora daughter of Diophantos, 103-104: Μητροδώρα Διοφάντου μετὰ κυρίου Μέμνονος τοῦ Κτησίππου. Although Günther (1992) 23-42, may well be right that Metrodora daughter of Diophantos was mother of Metrodora daughter of Athenagoras (84-85) and, in fact wife, of the same Athenagoras.

¹⁷² Philinos son of Medeias, *Milet* I.3 147.99-100: [Φ]ιλῖνος Μηδείου μετ' ἐπιτρόπων Νέωνος τοῦ Μηδείου καὶ Ἐρωτίωνος | τοῦ Λεωκέστορος; also Pelleneus son of Prokritos, 101: Πελληνεύς Προκρίτου μετ' ἐπιτρόπου Ζευξίλεω τοῦ Προκρίτου; both are likely to have been wards to older brothers (anyway to guardians with shared patronyms).

¹⁷³ Günther (1992) 24-29.

safeguard and salvation of the city,”¹⁷⁴ but which carried serious risk of deepening the state’s debt while enriching the fortunate few. This novel mechanism, then, has the ring of a coordinated effort (by both family and class) to safeguard and enhance private wealth at the expense of civic financial wellbeing. It deploys a highly creative economic savvy cognate with that of Kritolaos and his peers, the landowners at Mylasa and Thespiiai, the elite Delphians who took a gift from a king and turned it into a brilliant investment opportunity for themselves.

The public face of all of these measures was periodic, modest, short-lived, popular payouts; but behind the scenes was a pattern of shrewd, and possibly collusive, personal enrichment on the part of elites. If anyone was a ‘loser’ in this story, it was the state, against whose claims on their wealth founders and their peers apparently developed an effective way to resist.

Thus, when the Achaean councilmen refused Eumenes’ offer of 120 endowed talents they were clearly thinking of the threat to autonomy that such will have posed — we should trust Apollonidas’ rousing speech on this score. But they also knew what they were giving up in terms of economic opportunities. And not just the salaries. Hellenistic elites knew very well how to put investments to work, and especially endowed funds; how to design and then market, through the deliberative and legislative process, endowments whose ostensible purposes were popular, civic-minded, traditional, but whose operational benefits (inevitably unremarked in the decrees that gave life to endowments) were sharply skewed to the advantage of the very elites who gave, who drafted the regulations, who borrowed and leased from the funds, and even to the detriment of state fiscal health. Doubtless, Eumenes himself also had ulterior motives in proposing the endowment. But the Achaean councilmen knew that game and as devoted as they were to political self-determination, they also knew how to make charity sweet for the public, but even sweeter for themselves. That business, though, they would do on their own terms.

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¹⁷⁴ *Milet* I.3 147.67, 76: εἰς φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν. The phrase was not Milesian boilerplate; restored at *Milet* I.3 37.93-94: ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι εἰς [φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν τῆς | πόλεως].

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A PETITION TO THE *EPIMELETES* DOROTHEOS IN TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN*

Abstract: Hundreds of fragments from the Petrie papyri still remain unpublished today. This article offers the *editio princeps* of six fragments from Trinity College, Dublin (inv. Pap. Gr. folder 127), that were previously joined by Smyly and Clarysse. All six belong to a single petition (*hypomnema*) from the late third century BC, in which the village scribe of Tanis asks the *epimeletes* Dorotheos for help concerning problems with a grain shipment.

A reassessment and re-edition of the Petrie papyri has long been a desideratum.¹ Some progress has been made, but hundreds of fragments remain unpublished and the *editio princeps* has in the meantime become even more obsolete.² The papyrus published here, Trinity College inv. Pap. Gr. folder 127, consists of six fragments, joined by Smyly and Clarysse on the basis of the handwriting and the fine quality of the papyrus. The document records a petition (*hypomnema*) to the *epimeletes* Dorotheos and can be dated to the reign of Epiphanes (cf. *infra*).

Ptolemaic *epimeletai* were financial officials, but their precise function is unclear.³ Their responsibilities resemble those of *oikonomoi* and ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων. The ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων seem to have superseded for the greatest part both the *oikonomoi* and *epimeletai* towards the end of the second century, but the relationship between the *oikonomoi* and *epimeletai* is difficult to determine.⁴ They appear together in several papyri and there is no clear distinction between their tasks and rank, at least not if all documents are taken in account.⁵

The chronology of the institution of the office is also controversial. According to Clarysse and Hauben no *epimeletes* is attested before the reign of Philopator.⁶ McGing cites two documents mentioning an *epimeletes* that may point to an earlier institution of the office, but concedes

*I wish to express my gratitude to Willy Clarysse and Brian McGing for their indispensable support and comments.

¹ Van 't Dack (1972).

² New editions: Clarysse (1991); *P. Count* 12-21; Van Beek (forthcoming).

³ For an overview of the evidence: McGing (2002) 51-64.

⁴ For the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων: Falivene (1991) 222; McGing (2002) 52; Salmenkivi (2003) 124.

⁵ In isolated papyri, distinctions can sometimes be made: Falivene (2012) 221-222; McGing (2002) 54-55.

⁶ Clarysse & Hauben (1991) 51-53.

that their dating is doubtful.⁷ *P. Grad.* 7 (= *SB* III 6280) was initially dated to the reign of Euergetes, but this has been corrected to that of Philopator.⁸ The dating of the second document, *P. Bad.* II 13 (= *SB* VIII 9800a), recording a letter to the *dioiketes* Phoinix, is more complex.⁹ McGing suggests a mid third-century date on the basis of palaeography, but late third century cannot be ruled out.¹⁰ Two other letters to Phoinix have been preserved (*P. Hib.* II 244 and *P. Köln* XI 438). The last text belongs to the Theomnestos dossier, containing another papyrus mentioning the *epimeletes* Agathokles (*P. Köln* XI 448). The latter is also mentioned in *P. Strasb.* II 103 and 104, which belong to the Hermias dossier, which is in turn closely linked to the Harmachis file. Falivene situates all these documents in the reign of Euergetes, and not in that of Philopator (the traditional date), on the basis of the following arguments:¹¹

- (1) *P. Hib.* II 244 is dated by Turner, the editor, to late Philadelphos or early Euergetes on the basis of its handwriting.¹² As the text mentions a ninth year, a date under Euergetes indeed seems plausible. If the ninth year is attributed to the reign of Philopator, this is problematic for the *dioiketes* Phoinix, since Theogenes is attested as *dioiketes* for that year. Armoni e.a. argue that Phoinix might have been a *hypodioiketes* or a regional *dioiketes*.¹³ But in *P. Bad.* II 13 “Phoinix is expected to act between, and above two different and distant districts (Saites and Herakleopolites), precisely as a *dioiketes* should do”.¹⁴
- (2) Falivene agrees with Clarysse and Lanciers that the silver monetary standard is used in the Hermias file (contra Reekmans, who argues for the bronze standard), but according to her this would make a dating under Euergetes more plausible.¹⁵
- (3) The eighth year mentioned in *P. Strasb.* II 562 and 563 (Harmachis file) can be situated in the reign of Euergetes, as at this time Agathokleia may have been old enough to own ships.¹⁶

⁷ McGing (2002) 52.

⁸ Armoni e.a. (2006) 195.

⁹ Falivene (2012).

¹⁰ McGing (2002) 52.

¹¹ Falivene (2012).

¹² Turner (1955) II 155.

¹³ Armoni e.a. (2007) 83-84. Cf. Thomas (1978).

¹⁴ Falivene (2012) 222.

¹⁵ Clarysse & Lanciers (1989); Falivene (2012) 225; Reekmans (1948) 28.

¹⁶ Falivene (2012) 224. For Agathokleia, daughter of Oinante of Samos and mistress of Philopator: Hauben (1975).

- (4) Several documents from these files suggest extraordinary circumstances: armed rebels (*P. Köln* XI 441), a strike (*P. Strasb.* II 95), distributions to soldiers (*P. Strasb.* II 95) and a requisition of all draught-animals from a certain area (*P. Strasb.* II 93). This is linked by Falivene to the aftermath of the Third Syrian War of 261-241 BC.¹⁷

There are, however, several objections against each of these arguments in favor of the traditional date, which in my view should be maintained:

- (1) In *P. Bad.* II 13 Phoinix is asked to order the *epimeletes* of the Saite nome to provide freighters to the Herakleopolite nome. It does not seem improbable that one would write to the *hypodioiketes* in the Saite area on this occasion. Not all business involving distinct nomes had to be conducted through the central *dioiketes*.
- (2) The Hermias file records the payment of soldiers in a twelfth year. Heichelheim situates these documents under Euergetes, but gives no motivation for this.¹⁸ In fact, the use of the silver standard does not contradict a traditional dating under Philopator. The chronology of the monetary change under Philopator is problematic, but the twelfth year of Philopator (211/210 BC) seems to have been the transitory year, in which low prices in silver money and high prices in bronze money were used side by side.¹⁹
- (3) Agathokleia was certainly old enough to be in control of Philopator and his kingdom when Euergetes died (222 BC).²⁰ But was she old enough to own ships eighteen years earlier (year 9 mentioned in *P. Strasb.* II 562 and 563)? Falivene argues that Agathokleia was older than her brother Agathokles, because he is said to have been Philopator's *eromenos* (Aristoph., *Thesm.* 1062). She also mentions another source, however, in which Agathokles is said to have been his *hetairos*, a more adult role (Athen. 6.251e). Next, it seems far-fetched that ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ ὁ τῆς Ἀγαθοκλείας (Strab. 17.1.11) should be translated 'Philopator, the son of Agathokleia' to insinuate that Agathokleia was old enough to be Philopator's mother. An interpretation as 'the lover of Agathokleia' or even more simply 'the one of Agathokleia' seems more likely. Finally, even if Agathokleia was old enough in 240/239 BC to own ships, this does not

¹⁷ Falivene (2012) 225.

¹⁸ Heichelheim (1930) 26.

¹⁹ Clarysse & Fischer-Bovet (2012); Clarysse & Lanciers (1989).

²⁰ Cf. Falivene (2012) 224.

exclude that she only came in the possession of these ships at a later age, in the ninth year of Philopator (214-213 BC).

- (4) The extraordinary circumstances can be attributed to the aftermath of the Fourth Syrian War (221-217 BC) as well. Philopator's reign in fact marked the beginning of a long period of economic crisis and indigenous unrest.²¹

The petition to the *epimeletes* published here was handed in by the village scribe of Tanis. Due to the fragmentary character of the text, it is very difficult to reconstruct what exactly happened. Apparently the village scribe was responsible for a grain shipment in 207/206 BC (cf. *infra* for date) and was blamed because the shipment was not delivered as planned. The men who transported the load (κοντωτίται) were involved in these problems. In this petition, the village scribe asks the *epimeletes* to write a letter to an unnamed chief of the police, who may perhaps have blocked the shipment.

The main text is written against the fibers on the recto (plate 1). On the basis of line 12, we can conclude that each line contained 50 to 60 characters (cf. *infra*). Probably the first line of the lower fragment of the recto (βουλ[ο]μένων) is part of the last line of the upper fragments (line 9). The dot behind βουλ[ο]μένων seems to be part of the *tau* of [ἀπο]μετρήσαι and the proposed supplement would fit. The second smallest fragment cannot be situated precisely, but clearly belongs to the main text. The handwriting of the main text (m 1) is neat and suggests a date in the late third (broad π and τ, respect for upper line) or early second century (large and curved μ, anorganic connecting strokes). Another distinctive feature are the little dots that appear at the beginning of several words (ἐμοῦ, ἐκτεθέντος, Ἀνδρονίκου, ἀρχιφυλακίτη, λῦσαι). The docket on the verso (plate 2) is written in a different hand (m 2), trained but more cursive. The y-shaped τ fits a late third to early second-century dating. The first line of the recto, stating the date, was clearly added to the main text, but cannot be attributed with certainty to the writer of the main text or the docket (so possibly a third hand: m 3).

Another *hypomnema* to an *epimeletes* named Dorotheos was submitted by Petosiris, a tanner from Krokodilon polis (*P. Petrie* II 32.1 = *P. Petrie* III 36 d). In this document too, an added first line states the date. Moreover, both petitions originate from Petrie's excavations in

²¹ Cf. Veisse (2004).

Gurob and show the same structure (receiver – sender – genitive absolute at the beginning, appeal to Dorotheos' *φιλανθρωπία* in future perfect tense at the end). In the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* (I 939 = VIII 939) the two references are attributed to the same person; this seems correct.

Trinity College inv. Pap. Gr. folder 127

Date: August 27, 202 BC

Dimensions: 8.8×10.5 cm (upper left part), 7×8 cm (upper right part), 22×7 cm (lower part), 4×5.5 cm (middle fragment), 1.5×2.7 cm (lower left fragment)

Recto:

1 m 3 γέγρα(απται) γρ(αφή) (ἔτους) γ Ἐπειφ κ̅γ̅.
 2 m 1 Δωροθέωι ἐπι[μελητῇ παρὰ NN κωμογραμμα]τέως Τάνεως.
 3 Ἐμοῦ ἐκτεθέ[ντος ἐ]ργαστήριον
 4 τοῦ ἱς (ἔτους) πυρ[οῦ ἀρτάβας x] κεχειρογράφη-
 5 κα ἀπομετρ[ήσαι] τῇν δὲ κριθὴν
 6 τοῖς κοντω[ίταις γεγ]ονότος ὑπὸ
 7 Ἀνδρονίκου τ[οῦ]του τῶν Κοιτῶν
 8 παρέδωκαν [NN τῶ]ι ἀρχιφυλακίτη.
 9 Ἡμῶν δὲ [] . βουλ[ο]μένωv [ἀπο]μετρήσαι
 10 [] . . [.] καὶ τοῖς κ[οντ]ω<τί>ταις καθότι τετάγμεθα
 11 [-πα]τρος ὁ ἀρχιφυλα[κί]της τῆς κώμης ἑὰμ μὴ αὐτῷ γράψ[η]ς
 12 [Ἀξιοῦμέν σε ἂν] σοι φαίνεται σ[υν]τάξαι γράψαι λῦσαι τὸν πυρὸ[ν π]αρά
 13 [Τούτου γάρ] γενομένου ἐσ[ό]μεθα τῆς παρὰ σοῦ φιλανθ[ρ]ωπίας
 14 [τ]ετ[ευ]χότες.] Ἐυτύχει.

Verso:

15 m 2 [] . [] ... [] ...ος ὁ παρὰ βα(σιλικοῦ) γρα(μματέως)
 ἐπακολουθήσας τὸ ἱς (ἔτος) μετρήσε[ι]ν ἕως Ἐπειφ α̅
 16 [] α . γγ̅ [] ... [] . ε . κεχειρογράφηκεν τοῖς γραμματεῦσιν.

Fragment:

1 m 1 [... ἐπιστ]ολῆς . [...]
 2 [...] . α [...]
 3 [...] καθότι . [...]

Recto: (m 3) 'Document written in year 3, Epeiph 23. (m 1) To Dorotheos, epimeletes, from NN, village scribe of Tanis. I have been posted ... ergasterion ... in year 16 for x artabas of wheat ... I have made a written oath to the scribes that I have measured ... the barley to the kontotitai ... by Andronikos ... of Koitai ... they have given ... to the chief of the police. We ... wanting to measure ... and to the kontotitai, as we have been ordered ... -patros, the chief of the police of the village, if you don't write to him. I ask you, therefore, if it seems good to you, to order a letter to be written to release the

wheat from ... For when this is accomplished, we will have obtained your benevolence. Farewell.'

Verso: (m 2) '...os, the assistant of the royal scribe has agreed to deliver the sixteenth year before Epeiph 1 ... has made a written oath to the scribes.'

- 1 – This line was added in Dorotheos' office on Epeiph 23 of year 3. There are no parallels for the abbreviation γεγρ γρ; the supplement is only tentative. Lines 4 and 15 mention an earlier sixteenth year, in which some trouble has occurred. As the handwriting suggests a late third or early second-century dating, the sixteenth and third years have to be situated either in the reigns of Euergetes and Philopator, or of Philopator and Epiphanes, or of Epiphanes and Philometor. If one situates the occurrence of year 16 under Euergetes or Epiphanes, who ruled for 26 and 25 years respectively, the petition would have been written more than ten years after the first events. If the two events are attributed to the sixteenth year of the reign of Philopator (207/206 BC) and the third year of the reign of Epiphanes (August 27, 202 BC, a year earlier than suggested in *Pros. Ptol.* VIII 939), this leaves a gap of only five or four years between them. Another petition to Dorotheos (*P. Petrie* II 32.1 = *P. Petrie* III 36 d) reached his office on Mesore 17 of year 8. On the basis of the huge sums of bronze money that appear in the text, the petition has previously been situated under Epiphanes or Philometor.²² A dating under Epiphanes (September 19, 197 BC) seems most plausible on the basis of this new petition. Both documents were, therefore, written somewhat later than the bulk of the Petrie papyri.
- 2 – Given the similarities between this petition and *P. Petrie* II 32.1 (= *P. Petrie* III 36 d) mentioned above, it is clear that this document was addressed to the *epimeletes* (ἐπι[μελητῆι]) of the Arsinoite nome, Dorotheos, who was in office during Epiphanes' reign, as argued above. Several texts associate *epimeletai* with the grain supply and here also the petitioner writes to Dorotheos about problems arising from a faulty grain shipment.²³ Tanis is a village (*kome*) in the meris of Herakleides, not far from Philadelphia.²⁴

²² Cadell & Le Rider (1997) 45-46; Mahaffy & Smyly (1905) 78; *Pros. Ptol.* I 939, V 12934.

²³ Cf. McGing (2002) 61-62.

²⁴ Monson (2012) 2-3; Uytterhoeven (2003).

- 3-4 – *P. Tebt.* III 1.774, another petition from the early second century BC containing a passive form of ἐκτίθημι with a personal subject (Ammonios, the petitioner), furnishes a parallel for ἐμοῦ ἐκτεθέντος. Lines 21-23 of this text read as follows:

καὶ ἐκτίθεμαι πυρῶν ἄρ(τ.) Αφ καὶ με[τὰ]
Ἡλιοδώρου τὸ αὐτὸ ἐργαστήριον τὸ ιζ [(ἔτος) καὶ]
ἐκτίθεμαι πυρῶν ἄ[ρ(τ.)] τ

Since traditional translations of ἐκτίθημι, such as ‘to explain’ or ‘to account for’, do not satisfy in this case, the editors translate this verb as a passive form in its most basic meaning, ‘to publish’ or ‘to post’: “and I am posted for 1500 artabas of wheat, and with Heliodoros of the same store (= the *ergasterion* of Boubastos) for the seventeenth year, I have been posted for 300 artabas of wheat”.²⁵ This would mean that the amounts of wheat for which Ammonios (and in the second case also Heliodoros) was responsible were made public by the authorities. While the exact meaning of this expression remains uncertain, the similarities with the petition to Dorotheos are striking. The *komogrammateus* of Tanis, also operating from an *ergasterion*, was ‘posted’ for a certain amount of wheat as well, in the sixteenth year of Philopator, but the wheat was not delivered as planned. On the basis of this parallelism πυρ[οῦ] may be supplemented on line 4, followed by ἀρτάβας, possibly abbreviated.

The location of the *ergasterion* in question is lost in the lacuna. Duttonhöfer argues that the Ptolemaic *ergasteria* in the Arsinoite nome served as central offices controlling multiple *thesauroi* in a certain region. She identifies four *ergasteria* in the Herakleides meris: in Boubastos, in the Exo Topoi, in Philadelphieia and in the area of Philopator and Soknopaiou Nesos.²⁶ Clarysse and Müller add Bakchias to the list of settlements with an *ergasterion* in the Herakleides meris. They also criticize Duttonhöfer’s interpretation and distinguish between *ergasteria* as bookkeeping facilities and *thesauroi* as storage facilities. This explains why *ergasteria* are attested in smaller settlements as well.²⁷ Recently, Fati has put for-

²⁵ Hunt & Smyly (1933) 205.

²⁶ Duttonhöfer (1993). The Exo Topoi were a distinct administrative area at the entrance and eastern border of the Fayum: cf. Uytterhoeven (2009) 304-309.

²⁷ Clarysse & Müller (2004).

ward that the *ergasterion* of Boubastos and that of the Exo Topoi are in fact one and the same office, in the line of Duttonhöfer's hypothesis of central *ergasteria* coordinating multiple *thesauroi*.²⁸ The *ergasterion* referred to in our petition was probably situated near Tanis, as the village scribe was involved in its activities. Tanis never appears among the Exo Topoi in the papyrological record; the village rather seems to have been situated right outside the borders of this administrative area. This leaves open two possibilities: either Tanis possessed an *ergasterion* of its own, previously unattested and fitting into Clarysse's and Müller's hypothesis of *ergasteria* in more modest localities, or the text refers to the known *ergasterion* of Philadelphieia, which was situated nearby. In the Roman period, grain from Tanis was delivered to the *sitologoi* in Philadelphieia.²⁹ And the lacuna on line 3 leaves ample space for τὸ περὶ Φιλαδέλφειαν ἐργαστήριον.

- 6 – The text provides a rare attestation of the word κοντωτίτης. This term has been interpreted traditionally as a man pushing a punt (κοντωτόν) with a pole (κοντός) against the river bed.³⁰ Diodoros states that these ships were used to navigate the Tigris.³¹ According to Appian the Ptolemaic war fleet included 2000 κοντωτά.³² It is unlikely, however, that small vessels, pushed forward with poles, would be used to navigate deep waters and wage war. Moreover, *P. Hib.* I 39 records a *royal* κοντωτόν carrying grain. As κοντωτά are identified with punts solely on etymological basis, it seems more plausible in respect to the available sources that, at least from the Ptolemaic period, κοντωτά were vessels of a more considerable size. *P. Oxy.* III 636 provides a good parallel for γεγονότος ὑπό.³³
- 7 – At the end of the line the place-name Koitai can be read. This toponym was used to refer to two adjacent villages in the meris of Herakleides: Δίννεως Κοίτη and Ὀννιτῶν Κοίτη. Their precise location is unclear: they must have been situated in the southern or north-eastern part of the district, while Tanis was located on the eastern border of the Herakleides meris. Both villages shared the

²⁸ Fati (2012).

²⁹ Hagedorn (2012).

³⁰ Most recently Khalil (2012) 43.

³¹ Diod. 19.12.

³² App., *Prooem.* 10.

³³ Transcribed in *Stud. Pal.* IV, p. 114-115.

same *komogrammateus*, but were largely independent from each other in other respects, as most texts that refer to Δίννεως Κοίτη and Ὀννιτῶν Κοίτη do not mention them together.³⁴ The petition to Dorotheos offers a new clue: probably the name of the village was preceded by the name and title of an official. This must have been another official than the *komogrammateus* (...]του), which would suggest a stronger administrative unity between both villages than recognised so far.

Andronikos cannot be identified with any known individual. Due to the large lacuna, it is unsure whether he is the official of Koitai referred to.

- 8 – The verb could be either παρέδωκα (with the *nu* initiating the following word) or παρέδωκαν. A third person plural form, possibly referring to the *kontotitai*, seems most plausible, as we would rather expect an article after the verb than a word starting with a *nu*.
- 9 – A new sentence starts with a first person plural pronoun. On lines 10 and 13 verbs in first person plural appear. It seems unlikely that this form actually refers to a group of people, as in that case the text would start with one petitioner and end with multiple petitioners. It seems more plausible that the village scribe refers to himself alternately in singular or in generalizing plural.³⁵
- 10 – We cannot rule out that τοῖς κ[οντ]ωταις was a valid spelling variant, since the word is very rare (see also *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59492; *P. Grenf.* I 9; possibly *PSI* VI 551). But as we have no parallel sources, it is more plausible to correct τοῖς κ[οντ]ω<τί>ταις in this line and supplement τοῖς κοντωτ[ίταις] in line 6.
- 11 – The chief of police in question (*Pros. Ptol.* VIII 4608 b) is not attested elsewhere and cannot even be identified with certainty with the chief mentioned in line 8. Probably his name ends with -πατρος, for other names with -τρος are very rare. Before this nominative form a verb is expected. The assimilation of ἐάν to ἐάμ is typical for the third century BC.³⁶
- 12 – These concluding formulae are typical of Ptolemaic petitions to kings or high officials.³⁷ The proposed supplement seems plausible considering the measurements: for this line 22 cm of papyrus has

³⁴ Hoogendijk (2007) 132-134.

³⁵ Cf. Mayser (1926) 40-42.

³⁶ Mayser & Schmoll (1970²) 204.

³⁷ Cf. Di Bitonto (1968).

been preserved, with 41 characters and a 2 cm margin. This makes a rough average of 0,5 cm for each individual character. As papyrus rolls were normally 30 cm in height, the lost part must have measured 8 cm. Subtracting a 2 cm margin, this leaves room for about 12 characters. Still, some less attested alternatives for the first supplement are possible. Sometimes $\sigma\epsilon$ or $\sigma\iota$ was omitted from the formula and/or $\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}$ added. Similar constructions with $\delta\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu$ were also used. Be that as it may, on the basis of this line we can calculate that each line contained 50 to 60 characters. The object of $\lambda\tilde{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\iota$ has to be a short male accusative noun with a *rho*. $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\nu$ seems to be the only plausible option: perhaps Dorotheos was asked to write a letter to the chief of police to lift the blockage of a grain shipment. It must be noted, however, that the traces before the *rho* are not ideal to make for an *ypsilon*.

13 – The preposition $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ was followed by a personal or place name, perhaps Koitai. It could also have been the beginning of the word $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\rho\eta\mu\alpha$. The genitive absolute $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ is also recorded without $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$, but we have opted for this supplement on the basis of the other petition to Dorotheos (*P. Petrie* II 32.1 = *P. Petrie* III 36 d) and the ample room in the lacuna.

15-16 – Unfortunately the verso has been badly preserved. The reading $\beta\alpha(\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon) \gamma\rho\alpha(\mu\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma)$ was suggested by Smyly, in his unpublished notebooks on the inedited Petrie papyri, studied by Vanaverbeke for his licentiate thesis.³⁸ Unfortunately, we cannot identify this assistant of the royal scribe with another individual from the text. The construction of $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ with a future infinitive is problematic, but no other reading seems possible. Further there is mention of the delayed grain delivery for the sixteenth year and the written oath, sworn by the village scribe.

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³⁸ Vanaverbeke (1968) 128.

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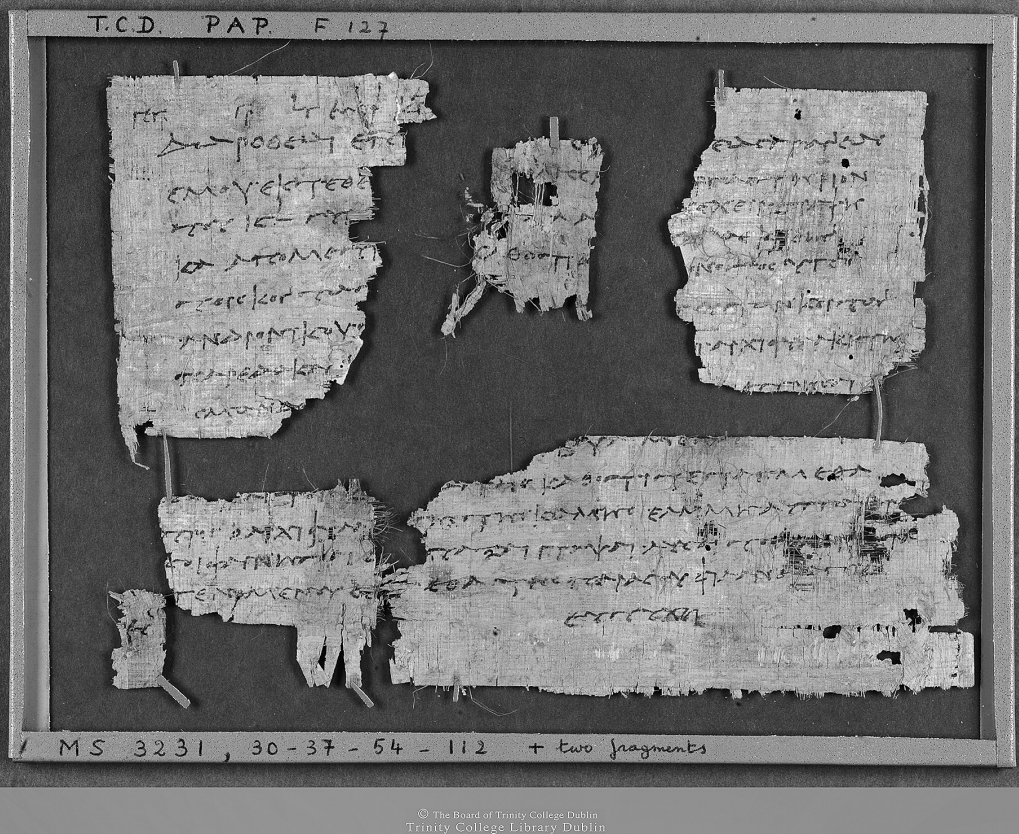


Fig. 1



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Fig. 2

THE SHRINES OF HATHOR AND AMENHOTEP IN WESTERN THEBES IN THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

Abstract: The archive of Totoes (*P. Tor. Botti* and *PSI IX 1016-1025*) contains references to a temple of Hathor ‘*on the mountain*’ and a temple of Hathor ‘*in the necropolis*’. On the basis of the information in the archive and additional archaeological evidence, it can be shown that both terms refer to the temple of Hathor in Deir el-Medina. The opinion that there still existed a sanctuary of Hathor in Deir el-Bahari in the Ptolemaic period cannot be maintained. The terms ‘upper *ml*’ and ‘lower *ml*’ of Amenhotep son of Hapu in the same archive do not necessarily designate two sanctuaries in Deir el-Bahari: the ‘lower *ml*’ may have been a chapel located close to Amenhotep’s mortuary temple or in another area of the Theban necropolis.

In the proceedings of the 26th International Congress of Papyrology Claudia Tirel Cena discusses the documentary evidence for the cults in the Ptolemaic Hathor temple of Deir el-Medina¹. This evidence mainly consists of the Greek and demotic papyri from the so-called archive of Totoes. These papyri were discovered in 1905 in two jars in a house near the temple precinct of Deir el-Medina². The archive contains 54 papyri (45 demotic — of which 3 with a Greek subscript — and 9 Greek), and they span a period of almost a century (194-100 BC). One of the questions that arose shortly after the publication of the Greek papyri by Vitelli in 1929 (*PSI IX 1014-1025*) was the identity of the temples of Hathor (or Aphrodite for the Greeks), that were designated in the archive by the epithets ‘*in the necropolis*’ and ‘*on the mountain*’. Among Greek papyrologists a consensus grew that these names were used for the well-preserved Hathor temple in Deir el-Medina and a Hathor chapel in the middle court of the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari respectively; this opinion remained largely unchallenged even after Botti’s publication of the demotic papyri in 1967 (*P. Tor. Botti*). The only scholar who explicitly formulated an opinion to the contrary was P.W. Pestman, who concluded in 1981 that both designations were used for the Hathor temple in Deir el-Medina³. Hidden in a footnote and not substantiated by a detailed discussion of the evidence, his opinion went unnoticed in later

¹ Tirel Cena (2012).

² See *PSI IX 14*: “una casa di abitazione di qualche importanza, a poche decine di metri dal recinto del tempio”. For an overview of the archive, see www.trismegistos.org/archive/248.

³ Pestman (1981) 95 n. 1 (see also n. 20 below).

publications. In her short overview of the scholarly discussion, Claudia Tirel Cena does not reach a clear-cut conclusion and pleads for further investigation: “La questione merita comunque ulteriori approfondimenti que tengano conto dei dati archeologici e della storia precedente della capella di Hathor a Deir el-Bahari ...”⁴. The present contribution offers this more in-depth discussion, taking into account both the documentary and the archaeological evidence. In doing so, I will also touch upon the subject of the identification of the sanctuaries of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, which appear in the same archive. I hope to show that some long-standing opinions about the cultic landscape in Western Thebes in the Ptolemaic period need to be changed.

My investigation starts with the Greek papyri. *PSI* IX 1016 (129 BC) concerns the sale of ἡμέραι ἀγνευτικάι (‘days of purification’, l. 4, l. 29) ἐν ἱερῶι Ἀφροδισίῳ καλου(μένῳ) Ἀθὺρ Νουεμοντεσεμα ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Με(μνονείων) τάφοις (ll. 11-15, ll. 32-34)⁵. Spiegelberg recognized Νουεμοντεσεμα as the Greek transcription of the demotic expression *hnw.t imnt Dmʒ*, ‘Mistress of the West of Djeme’⁶. He identified the shrine of Hathor, ‘Mistress of the West of Djeme’, with the Ptolemaic temple of Deir el-Medina and, this seems to have been accepted ever since⁷. In all of the Ptolemaic reliefs from this temple Hathor bears the shorter title ‘Mistress of the West’⁸; somewhat surprisingly the full form ‘Mistress of the West of Djeme’ is only found in a relief from the time of Augustus in a small chapel at the back of the temple⁹. In the Thoth temple in Qasr el-Aguz, dating from the reign of Ptolemy VIII, the goddess is called ‘Hathor, Mistress of the West ... who resides in Djeme (*hrj-ib Dʒmwt*)’, in a scene that refers to her temple in Deir el-Medina¹⁰.

In the Greek papyri from the archive we also find transactions regarding ‘days of purification’ ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρει Μεμ(νονέων) ἐπὶ

⁴ Tirel Cena (2012) 760.

⁵ In *PSI* IX 1019 (110 BC) and 1022 (106 BC) the same temple appears, but without the epithet Νουεμοντεσεμα.

⁶ See *PSI* IX 21, commentary ad l. 33; Spiegelberg (1928) 24-26. Cf. Ray (1981) 5 and Pestman (1993) 431.

⁷ Wilcken (1930) 76; Bataille (1952) 95; Grunert (1979) 75 n. 42; Vandorpe (1995) 228; Montserrat & Meskel (1997) 182 n. 9; Łajtar (2006) 45; Dunand (2010) 48.

⁸ du Bourguet & Gabolde (2002) 203-205 (index).

⁹ du Bourguet & Gabolde (2002) §184 line 4; cf. §190.

¹⁰ Mallet (1909) 48; for the meaning of *hrj-ib*, see recently Eaton (2012). For a discussion of the scene, see below p. 119.

τοῦ ὄρου Ἀφροδισιείου¹¹. The interpretation ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρου ('on the border') by the first editor Vitelli was later questioned by Wilcken, who proposed to emend ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρου<ς>, ("‘auf dem Berge’ oder ... ‘auf dem Wüstenboden’"); in his opinion this sanctuary was different from the Deir el-Medina temple, though he did not offer an identification¹². Wilcken's emendation was questioned by Bataille, who returned to the reading ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρου and understood the 'border' to be the boundary between the district Peri Thebas and the Pathyrites; he identified the temple with the Hathor shrine in the middle court of the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari¹³.

The publication of the demotic papyri from the Totoes archive in 1967 (*P. Tor. Botti*) showed that Wilcken's suggestion was right. In the demotic documents we indeed find a temple called *irpj n H.t-Hr hnw.t imnt nt hr p3 dw Dm3* ('temple of Hathor, Mistress of the West, on the mountain of Djeme')¹⁴. Notwithstanding this new evidence, however, Bataille's identification with the Hathor chapel in Deir el-Bahari remained largely unquestioned¹⁵, no doubt because the temple of Hatshepsut is built against the mountain cliff and because the Greek documents locate the temple ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρει Μεμνονείων, which would seem to favour a location in the northern part of the necropolis.

On the basis of the demotic papyri, the identification of the 'Hathor temple on the mountain' with the chapel in Deir el-Bahari, however, can no longer be upheld. In *P. Tor. Botti* 1 (187 BC) the editor read the name of the temple as *rpj H.t-Hr hnw.t imnt Dm3 hnw.t imnt nty hr t3 sbt n Dm3*, which he translated as "tempio di Hathor, signora dell'Occidente di Djeme, signora dell'Occidente, che trovasi sul muro di Djeme" (p. 28). Zauzich corrected the first part of the expression into *rpj H.t-Hr hnw.t imnt M3'(.t) hnw.t imnt* ('Temple of Hathor, Mistress of the West, and Maat, Mistress of the West')¹⁶. But the translation 'which is upon the wall of Djeme' must also be corrected. The masculine noun *p3 sbt* was used to designate the wall of Djeme (Medinet Habu)¹⁷, but a temple

¹¹ *PSI* IX 1020 ll. 6-7 (110 BC); *PSI* IX 1018 l. 11 (107 BC).

¹² Wilcken (1930) 76.

¹³ Bataille (1952) 60-61, 96-97.

¹⁴ *P. Tor. Botti* 1: 187 BC; *P. Tor. Botti* 6: 150 BC; *P. Tor. Botti* 7: 143 BC; *P. Tor. Botti* 8: 137 BC; *P. Tor. Botti* 9: 134 BC.

¹⁵ Quaegebeur (1974) 50; Grunert (1979) 76 n. 45 (with some hesitation); Vandorpe (1995) 227-228; Vandorpe (2004) 193-194; Łajtar (2006) 45; O'Connell (2007), 254-255.

¹⁶ Zauzich (1971) 44.

¹⁷ Pestman (1993) 413-414.

‘upon the wall of Djeme’ does not make much sense. As Botti already recognized both in his transcription and his index (p. 254), we are in fact not dealing with a masculine noun but with the feminine *t3 sbt*, which means ‘the hill’¹⁸. This temple ‘on the hill of Djeme’ must be the same as the shrine that is called ‘temple of Hathor, Mistress of the West, on the mountain of Djeme’ in the other demotic papyri from the archive and the temple ‘on the mountain’ of the Greek papyri. The fact that *P. Tor. Botti* 1 associates Maat with Hathor leads to the identification of the shrine: they were the principal deities of the Ptolemaic temple of Deir el-Medina, where they were worshipped in the central *naos*¹⁹. The conclusion that the temple of Hathor ‘on the mountain’ is the temple of Deir el-Medina thus seems indisputable²⁰.

This identification is not invalidated by the location of the temple ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρει Μεμνονείων. Pestman has shown that the name τὰ Μεμνόχεια could not only designate the town of Djeme – Medinet Habu, and more generally the necropolis on the west bank (in which southern part Deir el-Medina lies), but also an administrative district that included the town of Medinet Habu in the southern part (τὸ ἀπὸ νότου μέρος τῶν Μεμνονείων) and Deir el-Medina in the northern part (τὸ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρος τῶν Μεμνονείων); the northern boundary of the district was probably situated somewhere between Deir el-Medina and Dra abu’l-Naga²¹.

The connection between the temple in Deir el-Medina and ‘the mountain’ is not surprising. Deir el-Medina lies in a small valley between the isolated hill of Qurnet Murai and the Theban mountain range, which is dominated by the pyramid shaped peak of el-Qorn. Furthermore, Hathor, *Mistress of the West*, was always associated with the Theban hills, which

¹⁸ See Erichsen (1954), 423, s.v. *sbt*. Grunert (1979) 65, and Pestman (1981) 95 n. 1, already have the correct interpretation and translation, but in *CDD* ‘m’ (2010), 35, s.v. *M3’i*, we still find the translation ‘chapel ... which is on the wall of Djeme’.

¹⁹ du Bourguet & Gabolde (2002) 1-46.

²⁰ It is remarkable that most demotists have accepted this identification without discussion. Botti identified all the Hathor shrines in the demotic papyri from the Totoes archive with the temple of Deir el-Medina, but he did not give any argumentation and did not use the information of the Greek papyri (*P. Tor. Botti*, p. 16). In the same way, M. el-Amir regarded ‘on the mountain’ as a variant of ‘in the necropolis’, without discussing the diverging opinion of previous scholars such as Wilcken and Bataille: el-Amir (1959), 68-69; el-Amir (1969) 99. In more recent discussions of the transactions of liturgical days in the Totoes archive the question is not treated: Felber (1993) 52-54 (see the erroneous identification on p. 53: “Hathortempel von Djeme”); Kaplony-Heckel (2012) 37-38.

²¹ Pestman (1993) 412-413.

were thought to provide an entrance to the netherworld. She is often depicted as a cow coming out of a mountain in the vignette to spell 186 of the *Book of Dead*²², in Ramesside tombs in Western Thebes, on coffins and numerous other artifacts²³.

If the ‘temple on the mountain’ is the temple of Deir el-Medina, we must consider the possibility that the ‘temple in the necropolis’ is a different Hathor shrine: the epithet Νουεμοντεσεμα (*hnw.t imnt̃ Dm̃*), which is associated with this temple, may also have been used for the goddess in other places in the Memnoneia. The demotic name of the temple — *rpj n H.t-Hr hnw.t imnt̃ nty hr h̃s.t n Dm̃* (‘the temple of Hathor, mistress of the West, which is in the necropolis of Djeme’)²⁴ — does not allow a precise location, because the designation *t̃ h̃s.t n Dm̃* was used for the whole necropolis of Western Thebes²⁵. The Greek name seems to contain a more precise geographical indication, but the interpretation of the element ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Με(μνονείων) τάφοις is problematic. Which noun could be hiding behind τοὺς? The most obvious solution would be to supplement τάφους, but it remains unclear what could be meant by the expression. Maybe we have to take ‘Memnoneia’ here in its restricted meaning of the village of Djeme – Medinet Habu and its surrounding plain. The preposition κατὰ could then either mean ‘near’ the graves of Medinet Habu or on ‘opposite’ slopes of the hill of Qurnet Murai²⁶, because the tombs on the western side of the hill are associated with Deir el-Medina and those on the eastern side with Medinet Habu²⁷. Bataille rejected the supplement τάφους, but his alternative ἀνθρώπους, meaning ‘among the graves, amidst the people of the Memnoneia’ is not convincing²⁸. Why should the scribes have felt the need to specify that the inhabitants of the Memnoneia were buried in the necropolis of the Memnoneia? Whatever the correct solution may be, the connection of the Hathor temple with the necropolis

²² See Hornung (1999) 22 pl. 8.

²³ For a discussion of the meaning of this representation, see Liptay (2003) and Arafa (2007).

²⁴ *P. Tor. Botti* 2: 194 BC; *P. Tor. Botti* 4: 159 BC.

²⁵ Pestman (1993) 414.

²⁶ For the meaning of κατὰ, see Mayser (1934 = 1970) 31: “gegenüber, in der Umgebung, Gegend”. Cf. Montserrat & Meskell (1997) 182 n. 9: “alongside the graves of the Memnoneia”.

²⁷ Strudwick (2003) 178.

²⁸ Bataille (1952) 236-237, followed by Łajtar (2006) 45, who translates “the temple ... (which lies) among the tombs of the inhabitants of the Memnoneia”.

does not speak against the identification with the temple of Deir el-Medina, as the New Kingdom graves on the slopes surrounding the village were being (re-)used well into the Ptolemaic period²⁹.

Two Greek papyri from the Totoes archive confirm that ‘the Hathor temple on the mountain’ and the ‘the Hathor temple in the necropolis’ are indeed both designations for the temple of Deir el-Medina. These texts, *PSI IX 1019* and *1020*, were written on the same date (4 December 110 BC) by Apollonios, the acting *agoranomos* of the Memnoneia. Despite his function as Greek notary and his Greek name, Apollonios seems to have been an Egyptian, whose awkward use of the Greek language often obscures the correct interpretation of his texts³⁰. *PSI IX 1019* is a homological deed of cession by which Imouthes, a priest of Min, declares that he has received 13 bronze talents from Pikos and his sister Tatehathyris (the future wife of Totoes) and that he cedes ten days of purification in the Hathor temple in the necropolis to them: καὶ ἐξίστασθαι (l. ἀφίστασθαι) ἀπὸ ἡμερῶν δέκα ἱερῶν ἀγνευτικῶν ... ἐν ἱερει Ἀφροδισίῳ καλουμένη Ἀθὺρ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Μεμνονέων τάφοις (ll. 5-9). In *PSI IX 1020* Pikos and Tatehathyris lease ten days of purification (ll. 14-15), which are in their possession (ll. 5-6), to Imouthes; these days are connected with τοῦ ... ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρει Μεμ(νονέων) ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρο<υς> Ἀφροδισιεῖου (ll. 6-7). The lease is for one day per month during a period of ten months and for a price of 100 drachms per month. The traditional view that the two temples are different leads to the somewhat surprising situation that Imouthes sells ten liturgical days in one shrine and on the same day leases ten days in another temple³¹. It is far more logical to assume a sale-and-leaseback operation: Imouthes sells ten days in the temple of Deir el-Medina and immediately leases them back from the new owners³². The nature of the transaction is not totally clear³³, but it may have been the result of Imouthes’ urgent need for cash.

²⁹ The extent of this re-use may, however, have been rather limited: see Strudwick (2003) 176-177, 184.

³⁰ See Pestman (1989) 150-151.

³¹ That the 10 days belong to a different temple was assumed by Wilcken (1930) 78, and Grunert (1979) 72.

³² This is also the opinion of Taubenschlag (1955) 385 (who, however, does not discuss the identity of the two Hathor shrines), and Pestman (1978) 194 n. 1.

³³ Pestman (1978) 194 n. 1, recognized the verb ἐδά(νεισεν) on the verso of *PSI IX 1019* and concludes: “le débiteur est sans doute Imouthês”. Pestman’s hypothesis that the transaction also included a loan is, however, not sure: Messeri Savorelli (1980) 238 n. 88,

On the basis of all the evidence discussed above, we must accept Pestman's conclusion: "L'insieme dei documenti dell'archivio prova che non si tratta di due temple diversi ... ma di un solo"³⁴. It remains unclear why two designations were used alternatively for the temple of Deir el-Medina throughout the second century, sometimes even by the same notary³⁵. The use of the two terms can probably be explained by the particular topographical situation of the Theban necropolis and by the traditional connection the ancient Egyptians made between the concepts 'mountain', 'necropolis' and 'desert'. The demotic word *ḥꜣs.t* only has the meaning 'necropolis' and 'desert'³⁶, but the hieroglyphic *ḥꜣs.t*, Greek ὄρος and Coptic *ῥοϣ* also denote the concept 'mountain'³⁷, and it is not always clear which translation makes the most sense³⁸. While the denomination 'necropolis of Djeme' was widely used to designate the necropolis of Western Thebes, Ptolemaic period references to the name 'mountain / hill of Djeme' only occur, as far as we know, in the Totoes archive³⁹. However, the term is so general that it was probably not a

doubts that there is a direct relation between the recto and the verso of the papyrus. Kaplony-Heckel (2009) discusses several examples of leases of liturgical days, which are in fact used to repay a loan (see especially 1285-1286; 1294-1295 nr. 19; 1299-1300 nr. 23, 1453-1454), but these documents do not provide an exact parallel to *PSI IX 1019* and *1020*.

³⁴ Pestman (1981) 95 n. 1. Grunert (1979) 75 n. 42, came to the opposite conclusion, but his arguments are not convincing. In his opinion *P. Tor. Botti 2*, where Psenminis purchases liturgical days in the temple 'in the necropolis', and *P. Tor. Botti 1*, where the same person acquires days in the shrine 'on the hill', show that both temples are different: "bei Identität hätte der Käufer von unterschiedlichen Verkäufern zwei Mal das gleiche Objekt (partiell) gekauft". Re-consolidation of divided property was, however, typical in the Ptolemaic period, as is illustrated by *P. Tor. Botti 9*: Totoes' father Zmanres acquired his 56 liturgical days in the temple from no less than 8 different owners. See for instance also Muhs (2008) 190 (houses in Hawara).

³⁵ Not only the *agoranomos* Apollonios (see above), but also the Egyptian notary Harsiesis: in *P. Tor. Botti 4* (159 BC) he calls the temple of Hathor 'temple in the necropolis' and in *P. Tor. Botti 9* (134 BC) 'temple on the mountain'.

³⁶ See *CDD "ḥ"* (2006), 8-11, s.v. *ḥꜣs.t*.

³⁷ Hieroglyphic: WB III 234-236 s.v. *ḥꜣs.t*; *ḥꜣs.tjw*; Greek: Cadell & Rémondon (1967) 343-349 (where the evidence from the Totoes archive is not discussed); Coptic: Crum (1939) 440-441, s.v. *ῥοϣ*.

³⁸ This ambiguity is for instance illustrated by Hathor's title *ḥnw.t n.t ḥꜣs.t imnt.t* in a scene in the temple of Deir el-Medina: du Bourguet & Gabolde (2002) §27 l. 4 (Ptolemy IV). While Gabolde translates this as "reine de la montagne de l'Occident" in the index of the publication, we find the translation "die Herrin der Westwüste" in Leitz (2003) 367.

³⁹ Łajtar (2006) 71, translates the title of Amenothos son of Horos in *P. BM Reich 10230* l. IV 1, as "prophet, w'b-priest and pastophoros of all *iꜣw.t* and *šḥn* of the cemetery of the Ibis and the Falcon on the hill of Djeme and of the *ml* of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu, the Great God"; the demotic text has however *ḥꜣs.t* ('necropolis').

specific reference to Deir el-Medina; most likely it applied to different locations in Western Thebes. This was certainly the case in the 6th-8th centuries AD, when the expression ‘mountain of Djeme’ (Greek: ὄρος Μεμνονίων; Coptic: πτοουγ = $\bar{n}\chi\eta\mu\epsilon$) designated monasteries in different parts of the necropolis⁴⁰. But already in the Roman period $p\bar{3} dw$ (without the addition $n Dm\bar{3}$) seems to have been used not only for the area of Medinet Habu⁴¹, but also for Deir el-Shelwit⁴².

On the basis of the Greek evidence from the Totoes archive several scholars have assumed that a certain Pikos son of Psenminis (not to be confused with Totoes’ homonymous brother-in-law⁴³) was the owner of a private Hathor shrine in the Memnoneia⁴⁴. Pikos sells five liturgical days in the Hathor temple ‘on the mountain’ to Totoes in 107 BC (*PSI* IX 1018) and three days in the Hathor temple ‘in the necropolis’ in 106 BC (*PSI* IX 1022). In the *scriptura interior* of the latter document the transaction is summarized as follows: ἀπέδο(το) Πικῶς Ψεμμένιος τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος αὐτῷ Ἀφροδισιεῖ[...] ἡμερῶν τριῶν χ(αλκοῦ) (ταλάντων) ζ (ll. 3-8); Wilcken’s supplement τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος αὐτῷ Ἀφροδισιεῖ[ου]⁴⁵ could be interpreted as private possession of the temple. From ll. 14-17, however, it becomes clear that Pikos was only rightful owner of the emoluments from three liturgical days in the shrine: ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος αὐτῷ γερων (= γέρως) ἡμερῶν τριῶν ἀγνευτικῶν ... ἐν ἱερει Ἀφροδισιείου καλουμένη Ἀθὺρ ἐν τοῖς

Otto (1952) 77-78, discusses some demotic documents seemingly referring to a “Berg von Djeme”, but here also the word *h3s.t* is used.

⁴⁰ In the 7th century AD the monastery of Phoibammon in Deir el-Bahari lies on ‘the (holy) mountain of the Memnoneia / Djeme’ (see for instance *P. Lond.* I 77 ll. 26-27 for the Greek, and *P. KRU* 81 l. 6 for the Coptic expression). The monastery of Apa Paul, which is also located ‘on the mountain of Djeme’ was recently identified with the monastery of Deir el-Bachit in Dra abu’l-Naga: Beckh e.a. (2011). See already Winlock & Crum (1926) 4: “probably all those parts of the Theban desert hills in which the anchorites of Jeme lived”.

⁴¹ *O. Cairo MH 4045A*, a demotic ostrakon from the early Roman period (5-4 BC), was found *in situ* in Medinet Habu and contains a reference to ‘the mountain’ (l. 2: $p\bar{3} dw$); is it simply a coincidence that this document is connected with the *pastophoroi* of Djeme (l. 4: $p\bar{3} dnj n n\bar{3} wn.w n Dm\bar{3}$), which are also the protagonists in the Totoes archive? (The text is published in Kaplony-Heckel [2009] 1379, 1403).

⁴² The ‘*pastophoros of Isis of the mountain*’ ($wn n 'Is n p\bar{3} tw$) in *O. Bucheum* 67 l. 10, was probably connected to the Isis temple of Deir el-Shelwit: see Klotz (2009) 253 with n. 13.

⁴³ See Pestman (1978) 196 n. 2.

⁴⁴ Wilcken (1930) 76, 79; Bataille (1952) 96, 149; Grunert (1979) 72; Bagnall & Derow (2004) 276.

⁴⁵ Wilcken (1930) 79.

κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Μεμνονέων τάφοις. The same expression may be reconstructed in *PSI* IX 1018 ll. 10-11: ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος αὐτῶι <ἐν τῶι> ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρει Μεμνονέων ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρου Ἀφροδισιείου <γέρως> ἡμέρας πέντε ἀγγευτικῶν. Although private temples certainly existed in Ptolemaic Egypt, it is obvious that the Hathor temple of Deir el-Medina did not belong to this category, as the affairs of the temple, its priests and the community nearby were being handled by a college of ‘elders’, chosen from the ranks of the priests⁴⁶.

If we identify both the ‘temple on the mountain’ and ‘the temple in the necropolis’ with the Hathor temple of Deir el-Medina, we lack the documentary evidence for the continuation of the cult of Hathor in a chapel in Deir el-Bahari in the Graeco-Roman period⁴⁷. In the second half of the second century BC blocks from the outer hypostyle of the original Hathor chapel were used to repair damages to the upper court of the Hatshepsut temple⁴⁸. This confirms that there was no longer an active cult in the Hathor chapel in the period that the new sanctuary of Amenhotep and Imhotep on the upper court was constructed (probably 124-118 BC)⁴⁹.

Consequently Deir el-Bahari no longer plays a central part in the papers of Totoes⁵⁰. The religious and economic activities of Totoes and his family mainly revolved around Medinet Habu and Deir el-Medina. He was *pastophoros* of Amun in the small temple of Medinet Habu (called *Dsr-s.t*) and *prophet* of Hathor in the temple of Deir el-Medina, where he owned at least 39 liturgical days⁵¹. He also possessed liturgical

⁴⁶ See Pestman (1985) 168-171; Allam (2002) 20-24.

⁴⁷ An anonymous reviewer rightly points out to me that there is a large quantity of unpublished demotic texts from the site of Deir el-Bahari, including ostraca from Naville’s excavations, now in the BM, and graffiti from the Polish mission (see Karkowski & Winnicki [1983] 101-102). These texts may one day change our view on the cults in Deir el-Bahari in the Graeco-Roman Period.

⁴⁸ Karkowski & Winnicki (1983) 98; Karkowski (1997) 43; Łajtar (2006) 33, who, however, states on p. 45: “Although there is no direct evidence in favour of the use of the Hathor chapel for cult purposes in Ptolemaic and Roman times, the suggestion of Bataille seems very probable”; cf. Łajtar (2012) 177: “The chapel of Hathor, situated in the middle terrace of the Hatshepsut temple, was probably also accessible and used for cult purposes” (see also p. 180).

⁴⁹ For the date of the construction, see Laskowska-Kusztal (1984) 64-65.

⁵⁰ Of the 25 papyri in the archive containing information about transactions of liturgical days, 12 concern the supposed Hathor chapel in Deir el-Bahari (*‘temple on the mountain’*).

⁵¹ *P. Tor. Botti* 9 (134 BC: 5 4/5 days from his father Zmanres); *PSI* IX 1018 (110 BC: 5 days from Pikos son of Psenminis); *PSI* IX 1022 (106 BC: 3 days from Pikos son of Psenminis); *P. Tor. Botti* 31 (104 BC: 15 1/5 days from his mother Tanouphis); *P. Tor. Botti* 33 (102 BC: 10 days from his wife Tatehathyris).

days in chapels of Arensnuphis located within the city walls of Medinet Habu⁵², and in a shrine of Isis in the plain of Medinet Habu⁵³. The site of Deir el-Bahari has a rather marginal position in the archive. In *P. Tor. Botti* 21 (111 BC) and 24 (108 BC) Totoes is the owner of three liturgical days in the upper (*hrj*) and lower (*hrj*) *ml* of the royal scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu. This *ml* is already mentioned in documents from the early 2nd century BC. The demotic papyrus *P. BM Reich* 10226 ll. 3-4 (185 BC) shows that some tombs were situated to the north of the *ml*. From *P. BM Reich* 10230 ll. 3-4 (177 BC) we learn that priestly functions in the *ml* could not only be combined with offices in Medinet Habu and Deir el-Medina (Totoes archive), but also with the priesthood of the sacred ibises and falcons in Dra abu'l-Naga⁵⁴. While other scholars expressed widely diverging views on the identification and location of the *ml*⁵⁵, Łajtar identified the upper *ml* with a shrine of Amenhotep on the upper court of the temple of Hatshepsut, which in his opinion already existed before the construction of a new sanctuary of Amenhotep and Imhotep under Ptolemy VIII, and the lower *ml* with a room on the middle court of the same temple⁵⁶. To explain the tombs in *P. BM Reich* 10226 he postulates the existence of a burial place, which “must have comprised the space between the cliff rocks of the Deir el-Bahari valley on the north and the north wall of the upper court of the Hatshepsut temple on the south, and probably included also the Solar Complex which was apparently completely filled up with sand at that time”⁵⁷.

There can hardly be any doubt that the sanctuary of Amenhotep and Imhotep on the upper court in Deir el-Bahari could be designated in demotic as *ml* and must be identified with the ‘upper’ *ml* of the papyri. The demotic term indeed derives from the hieroglyphic word *m3rw*, which appears on the north wall of Amenhotep’s shrine in an inscription dealing with the restoration of the *m3rw* by Ptolemy VIII and

⁵² Grunert (1979) 78.

⁵³ See Grunert (1979) 76, for a discussion of the sources. For the location of the temple, see Pestman (1981) 95 n. 2.

⁵⁴ *P. BM Reich* 10230 (177 BC): see n. 39 above, and Pestman (1977), II, 75-78.

⁵⁵ Wildung (1997) believes that the shrine “irgendwo am Wüstenrand der thebanischen Nekropole in einem nach Südosten offenen Felsenhalbrund gelegen haben muß (Asasif?)” (p. 269). El-Amir (1959) 67-68, located the chapel in Dra Abu'l-Naga, while Grunert (1979) 78 n. 48, accepted a connection with the mortuary temple of Amenhotep to the north of Medinet Habu. Cf. Pestman (1977), II, 80: “À propos de son emplacement, nous ne pouvons rien affirmer avec certitude”.

⁵⁶ Łajtar (2006) 28-30, 44.

⁵⁷ Łajtar (2006) 45.

Cleopatra III⁵⁸. We are, however, less convinced that the second, ‘lower’ *ml* was in Deir el-Bahari. Regarding the construction identified by Łajtar with this second *ml* we only know that it was built at the earliest during the reign of Ptolemy VIII, but its function remains unclear⁵⁹. The word *m3rw*, usually written with the eye-hieroglyph, is often translated as ‘viewing place’; it seems to have been used for different types of buildings in which a god could appear to the public, including repositories for the sacred bark used during processions⁶⁰. If the term retained the same connotation in demotic⁶¹, it is conceivable that the ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ *ml* were different stations along a processional way, located at some distance from each other.

In this regard it has to be noted that the words *hrj* and *hrj*, although certainly meaningful in the context of the terraces of the Hatshepsut temple, were in Western Thebes also used to designate the ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ necropolis. In *P. BM Reich* 10240 ll. 2-3 (227 BC) a *šš* of the royal scribe Amenhotep is located in the ‘lower’ necropolis of Djeme’ (*t3 h3s.t hrj.t n Dm3*)⁶²: a burial place connected to this *šš* was bordered to the south and east by graves, and to the west and probably the north by mountains. There were also tombs to the south of this *šš* according to *P. Schreibertradition* 20 l. 5 (= *P. Louvre* 2415; 225 BC). The noun *šš* (variants: *šš*’, *šš*’) is usually translated as ‘chapel’⁶³, but Łajtar translates it tentatively as ‘memorial place’ and believes it “surely refers to the mortuary temple of Amenhotep”⁶⁴. We can show that the word in documents from the Totoes archive does not designate a building, but an open area which adjoined cult chapels of the god Arensnuphis in Medinet Habu⁶⁵. From the demotic document *P. Cairo* 30617A (98 BC) we learn that the chapel of Isis-Thermouthis in Tebtynis

⁵⁸ Laskowska-Kusztal (1984) 42 (text nr. 44); cf. 51 (text nr. 62), a text on the south wall which also seems to mention the *m3rw*; for a discussion of the term, see 66-67.

⁵⁹ Karkowski & Winnicki (1983) 98, 100. Cf. Łajtar (2006) 33: “The function of this building may be a matter of controversy”.

⁶⁰ For an overview of the theories regarding the meaning and etymology of *m3rw*, see Takács (2007) 87-88. In a lengthy exposé Konrad (2006) regards the *m3rw* as “ein festinstalliertes Stationsheiligtum während einer Prozession eines jährlich zelebrierten Götterfestes bzw. der Beisetzung eines heiligen Tieres” (151).

⁶¹ Which is accepted by Łajtar (2006) 50: “place of contact between god and his adherents”.

⁶² The designation ‘upper’ necropolis appears in *P. BM Andrews* 2 l. 2 (223 BC), but this document does not allow to locate this part of the necropolis.

⁶³ See *CDD* “š” (2010), 46-48, s.v. *šš*’.

⁶⁴ Łajtar (2006) 29.

⁶⁵ A chapel (*ry.t*) of the god Arensnuphis always shares a supporting wall (*dy.t b3k.t*) with adjoining buildings, but not with the *šš*, which shows that this must have been an open area

was bordered to the west by ‘the šš’ of the dromos of Soknebtynis’ and to the south by the ‘god’s avenue of the šš’ of the dromos of *Tšy.f-rs-wḏšy*’⁶⁶. In his excavation report of the Soknebtynis temple and its *dromos* V. Rondot identified the šš’ with the vestibule adjacent to the northern temple entrance⁶⁷. Several objections can be made against this identification, not the least the fact that the vestibule is not abutting the chapel of Isis-Thermouthis and is not even situated in a straight line west of it. Furthermore, Rondot himself is inclined to date the decoration of the vestibule in the reign of Ptolemy XII (80-58 BC; 55-51 BC), and presumes a previous building phase only on the basis of *P. Cairo* 30617A⁶⁸. Since up until now no buildings have been excavated immediately west or south of the chapel of Isis-Thermouthis⁶⁹, I believe that in Tebtynis — as in Medinet Habu — the šš’ was not a building but an open area. The ‘šš’ of the dromos of Soknebtynis’ may be identified with the esplanade between the chapel of Isis-Thermouthis, the *dromos* of Soknebtynis and the north wall of the *temenos*⁷⁰, while the road to the south of the chapel (road EO4 of the excavators) probably led to another open area in the east, in front of the as yet undiscovered temple of *Tšy.f-rs-wḏšy*⁷¹. In Pathyris the ‘šš’ of the god’ was one of the neighbours of a *pastophorion* of the temple of Hathor; since another text mentions the *wšh.t* (‘forecourt’) of the temple as the neighbour of the same *pastophorion*, we may accept that the šš’ was identical with the temple’s forecourt or at least with a specific part of it⁷². In all three locations — Medinet Habu, Tebtynis and Pathyris — the šš’ is explicitly connected with a deity and/or with active temples or chapels. Furthermore, the word seems to derive from the verb šš’, which has the meaning ‘to praise,

and not a structure (*P. Tor. Botti* 7 and 17). For a more detailed discussion, see our article ‘The Cult of Arensnuphis in Western Thebes in the Graeco-Roman Period’ (forthcoming).

⁶⁶ *P. Cairo* 30617A ll. 3-4, with the corrections in DBL (2005) I, 118. For the epithet *Tšy.f-rs-wḏšy* (‘His-awakening-is-sound’), used for Osiris, Min and a number of other gods, see Gallazzi & Hadji-Minaglou (2000) 20 n. 39; 62 n. 8.

⁶⁷ Rondot (2004) 103.

⁶⁸ Rondot (2004) 142-143; 192.

⁶⁹ No buildings were constructed along the *dromos* of Soknebtynis before the Roman period: Rondot (2004) 202.

⁷⁰ Gallazzi & Hadji-Minaglou (2000) 109-122; see especially the plan 111, fig. 39.

⁷¹ Gallazzi & Hadji-Minaglou (2000) 40, fig. 2.

⁷² *P. Strasb. dem.* 8 l. 3: the šš’ adjoins the *pastophorion* to the south and east (Reich [1911] 120); the unpublished *P. BM EA* 10504 mentions the same *pastophorion* in connection with the forecourt: Thomas (2013), 159-160 with n. 19, and 158 fig. 2. In *P. Chicago OI* 10551 l. 5, the šš’ is located to the north of a house (Ritner [1984] 172). For a discussion of the local topography, see also Vandorpe & Waebens (2009) 20-21.

to honour, to glorify⁷³. I therefore believe that the noun *š'š* designates a public space where people assembled to worship a deity⁷⁴. Such places of adoration, near the entrance(s) or at the back wall of temples, are of course well attested throughout Egyptian history and especially in the Graeco-Roman period⁷⁵. In my opinion there exists a direct and logical relationship between the *š'š* of Amenhotep and his *mšrw / ml*, a structure designed to show the god to his adherents.

Although the *š'š* had no funerary or commemorative function, contrary to the opinion of Łajtar, his proposal to identify the place with the area of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep, situated about 300 meters to the north-east of the enclosure wall of the Great Temple of Medinet Habu⁷⁶, is not unlikely. The whole area to the north of the village of Medinet Habu was important for the cult of the deified son of Hapu. He probably had a rock tomb close to this temple, on the southern slope of Qurnet Murai not far from the entrance to the valley of Deir el-Medina⁷⁷. A Ptolemaic-era statue of the god was found in a house to the west of the back wall of the Great Temple⁷⁸. Moreover, according to *P. BM Reich* 10230, a field close to the processional way to the temple of Ramesses III was still known as 'land of the divine endowment' of Amenhotep in 177 BC (ll. 4-5), but the temple to which the domain belonged may naturally have been located elsewhere. The topographical indications about the *š'š* in *P. BM Reich* 10240 correspond to the plain north of Medinet Habu, which indeed borders the hill of Qurnet Murai in the west and north, but they could also apply to numerous

⁷³ The noun can be written with the determinative of the 'praying man': Reich (1911) 137.

⁷⁴ Katelijn Vandorpe informs me that she and Sven Vleeming arrived at the same conclusion about the meaning of the word *š'š* in their forthcoming joint re-edition of the *Erbstreit* papyri. They believe that a *š'š* might have been "an open place in front or possibly rather at the back of the temple where people gathered to glorify the deity" (*P. Erbstreit* 4, l. 5 n. c). Gallazzi & Hadji-Minaglou (2000) 62 n. 7, base themselves on the appearance of the house determinative to identify the *š'š* in Tebtynis as "une structure faisant partie du dromos lui-même". Vandorpe and Vleeming, however, correctly remark that "the house determinative which is occasionally found in the word may designate any sort of locality" (*loc. cit.*).

⁷⁵ See Badawy (1975); Guglielmi (1994); Brand (2007) 59-64; Klotz (2008), 65-67.

⁷⁶ Robichon & Varille (1936) (see p. 25 for the location).

⁷⁷ Bidoli (1970); cf. Eigner (1983) 44 with n. 3. According to Wildung (1997) 288-289, this was only a "private" tomb of Amenhotep, replaced later by an "official" rock tomb in the Valley of the Eagle (Wadi en-Nisr). This theory, still accepted by Łajtar (2006) 13 with n. 34, was, however, refuted by Gabolde (1994) 228.

⁷⁸ Teeter (1995).

other areas in Western Thebes. The location in the 'lower necropolis' seems, however, to rule out that the š'š of Amenhotep was located on the middle or upper court of the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari. I would suggest, therefore, an alternative hypothesis to Łajtar's identification of Amenhotep's 'lower' *ml*. In the Ptolemaic period there might still have been a public place of worship (š'š) for Amenhotep, close to his mortuary temple or in another area of the Memnoneia. It was probably associated with a (kiosk-like?) construction designated to show the god to his adherents, and specifically referred to as the 'lower' *ml* to differentiate it from the 'upper' *ml* in Deir el-Bahari. Although it would be methodologically unsound to rely in this case on an *argumentum e silentio*, it may be noted that no Ptolemaic tombs were found in the area described by Łajtar to explain the appearance of tombs in connection with the *ml* of Amenhotep in *P. BM Reich 10226* (see p. 114)⁷⁹. If we accept, however, that this document refers to a 'lower' *ml* outside the Hathor temple in Deir el-Bahari, there might be a connection with the Ptolemaic tombs found in the area of the funerary temple of Amenhotep⁸⁰ or in other parts of the Theban necropolis. At present it seems impossible to state definitively that the second cult place of Amenhotep was located in Deir el-Bahari or elsewhere in the Memnoneia. Let us hope that new documentary or archaeological evidence⁸¹ will one day answer this question.

Claudi Tirel Cena discusses the presumed existence of a shrine of Hathor in Deir el-Bahari in the context of her theory that in the Graeco-Roman period a late form of the "Beautiful Festival of the Valley" was celebrated in Western Thebes. She surmises that in this version of the festival the statue of Amun-Ipet (Amenophis) left its sanctuary in Luxor

⁷⁹ In the debris over the Hatshepsut temple only Roman burials from the 3rd and 4th century AD were discovered (see Riggs [2000] 133 fig. 2, for their location), while the only known Ptolemaic tombs in the area are located over the causeways east of the temples (Strudwick [2003] 172-174 with fig. 3).

⁸⁰ Robichon & Varille (1936) 43-45; Strudwick (2003) 178, 181, 182. The location of the Saite 'necropolis of Amenhotep' (*t3 dsr(.t) Imn-ḥtp*) cannot be determined: see *P. Choix* 15 l. 4 (636 BC), with the corrections by Vittmann (1999) 117-119.

⁸¹ The Polish excavators have recognized two distinct phases of occupation of Amenhotep's sanctuary in Deir el-Bahari. They surmise that the original (third-century?) sanctuary of Amenhotep was damaged by some catastrophe (earthquake or rock-fall), and was subsequently repaired under Ptolemy VIII. They think it is possible that "the statue of Amenhotep was temporarily transferred to some other room or niche in the temple" (Karkowski & Winnicki [1983] 100). In our opinion it is certainly not inconceivable that the statue was transferred to the 'lower' *ml* in the valley.

and crossed the Nile to visit the temples of Medinet-Habu, Deir el-Medina and Deir el-Bahari in Western Thebes, and eventually returned to Karnak and Luxor⁸². Although we believe that the Hathor shrine in Deir el-Bahari was abandoned in the Ptolemaic period, there is other evidence that points to a cult relationship between the three sites. The hieratic papyrus *Vienna* 3865 contains a description of the ritual performed for Osiris-Onnophris in Djeme – Medinet Habu, but in this case it is not Amun who performs the rites, but Osiris' son Horus⁸³. This papyrus dates from the Roman period, but reliefs from the reign of Ptolemy VIII on the east wall of the middle room in the small temple of Qasr el-Aguz may contain a visual reference to this ritual. In these scenes the temple of Opet in Karnak (represented by Osiris-Onnophris, Isis and Nephthys) is connected with the temples of Medinet Habu (Amun, Isis, Harsiesis), Deir el-Medina (Thoth, Hathor, Maat) and Deir el-Bahari (Thoth, Imhotep and Amenhotep)⁸⁴. Whether we can genuinely infer from these scenes that the rituals for Osiris-Onnophris were not only performed in the temple of Amun *Dsr-s.t* in Medinet Habu⁸⁵, but also in Deir el-Medina⁸⁶ and Deir el-Bahari, remains uncertain.

The relief in Qasr el-Aguz confirms that Hathor had lost her predominant place in Hatshepsut's temple complex in Deir el-Bahari to Imhotep and Amenhotep, and that the Ptolemaic temple of Deir el-Medina had become her main and, in all probability, sole cult shrine in Western Thebes⁸⁷. My research has shown that the evidence from the Greek and

⁸² Tirel Cena (2012) 760, and 757-758; see also Tirel Cena (2008) 246. An overview of the sources illustrating the development of the "Beautiful Feast of the Valley" is given by Traunecker (1981) 134-137.

⁸³ Herbin (1984) 105-126; see also Herbin (2003) 115.

⁸⁴ Traunecker (2009), 52-53 and 50-51 fig. 8.

⁸⁵ According to a Theban religious tradition the body of the dismembered Osiris was reconstituted in the temple of Opet in Karnak, but buried in the 'mound of Djeme' (originally regarded as the burial place of Amun Kematef and the Ogdoad): see De Wit (1968) 125 n. 52, 146-147, with corrections by Herbin (2003) 91-92. The rites for Osiris in Djeme could not only be performed by his son Horus and the god Thoth (Herbin [1984] 108-109 ll. 23-24), but also by Shu and Amun (Labrique [2010] 196-198). See now also Klotz (2012) 197-199.

⁸⁶ In view of the important role of Osiris(-Onnophris) in the temple of Deir el-Medina, this is not improbable: see Tirel Cena (2012) 755-757. Cf. Traunecker (2009) 53, who regards Deir el-Medina as a "point de station de célébrations djémaïques".

⁸⁷ The demotic letter *P. Erbach* (21 April 167 BC) addresses several military, priestly and administrative title-holders in Djeme, amongst which the 'priests of Hathor' (l. 5: *nṣ w'b(.w) H.t-Hr*); see Spiegelberg (1905) 44 (the title is missing from the translation on p. 46). In our opinion this does not necessarily point to another Hathor shrine in the village of Medinet Habu: we may assume that the priests of the temple in Deir el-Medina are meant (and that the priests of Imhotep and Amenhotep in l. 6 are those of Deir el-Bahari).

demotic papyri, the archaeological remains and the temple reliefs all point in the same direction. Whether the preeminent role of Amenhotep in Deir el-Bahari resulted in the establishment of not just one but two cult shrines on the site of Hatshepsut's temple, remains open to discussion.

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Aerial view of Western Thebes (from: Theban Mapping Project)

Legend:

- 1: Qasr el-Aguz: Thoth temple
- 2: Medinet Habu (Djeme): Temple of Amun *Dsr-st*
- 3: Medinet Habu (Djeme): Mortuary temple of Ramesses III
- 4: Medinet Habu (Djeme): Mortuary temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu
- 5: Qurnet Murai
- 6: Deir el-Medina: Temple of Hathor
- 7: Deir el-Bahari: Temple of Hatshepsut

ROMANS AND LAND PROPERTY RIGHTS IN PTOLEMAIC EGYPT: THE IDENTIFICATION OF LUCIUS SEPTIMIUS

Abstract: Economic and political relationships between Rome and Egypt significantly changed during the first century BC, particularly since Sulla's intervention in Ptolemaic affairs. The events that occurred during the 50s show the most significant consequences in military and political balance in Egypt: the presence of Rome was not only linked to commercial activities, it also appeared in the Ptolemaic army and in the management of land property in the Egyptian *chora*. In this paper I will focus on the identification of Lucius Septimius, a landowner attested in a land register (*P. Lond.* II 195) dating from the Julio-Claudian age. Lucius Septimius' property successively belonged to Gallia Polla and finally to Marcus Antonius Pallas, an imperial freedman owner of an οὐσία. Literary evidence reveals interesting information about a Lucius Septimius, who was a council member of Ptolemy XIII and *tribunus militum* in the Ptolemaic army during the second half of the first century BC. Papyrological data as well as literary evidence allow us to identify the landowner with the *tribunus militum* of 55 BC. This instance is not isolated and can be placed in the more general context of increasing Roman interest in Alexandria and the Egyptian *chora* at the end of the Republic.

From the 80s BC onwards, Roman economic interests in Egypt were strengthened by political clientele relationships between Ptolemaic rulers and Roman *imperatores*¹. The economic consequences of Roman foreign policy in Egypt are better documented for the first half of the first century BC, especially for the years 60-50 BC. According to literary sources, Roman policy clearly enforced clientele relationships with the Ptolemaic regent, Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus², while tax and land reforms were also oriented

¹ Sulla's policy was significant in this process, notably after the money loan that he made to the benefit of Ptolemy X Alexander I in 89/88 BC and the will establishing Roman suzerainty on Alexandria and Egypt after Alexander I's death. Cicero, *de leg. agr.* 2.41-42. Cf. Badian (1967) 178-192; Hölbl (2001) 213-214; Huss (2001) 660-661; Lampela (1998) 229-230; Santangelo (2005) 325-328. The will of Alexander I is the third will in the history of Roman-Ptolemaic relationships. In 155 BC Ptolemy VIII was the first monarch to bequeath Ptolemaic kingdom to Rome, cf. Austin (1981) 381-382, n. 230; in 96 BC Ptolemy Apion bequeathed Cyrenaica to Rome, cf. Lampela (1998) 227-229.

² In 60 BC Ptolemy XII became *socius et amicus populi Romani*, in return for a payment of 6 000 talents to the benefit of Pompey and Caesar. Cf. Hölbl (2001) 225-226; Huss (2001) 682-684. Ptolemy XII entrusted to Pompey his will establishing a Roman protectorate on Egypt. Cf. Hölbl (2001) 230; Huss (2001) 696-697.

to Egyptian resources in land, grain and money³. The economic presence of Roman citizens in Egypt was significant: archeological and literary data reveal that commercial exchanges were continuous and concerned the transport of both common and precious goods from Alexandria to Puteoli⁴. The example of Rabirius Postumus' businesses is symbolic: he was creditor of Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus and businessman acting in commerce between Alexandria and Puteoli. The importance of his monetary loans to the Ptolemaic ruler justifies his appointment as διοικητής in 55 BC⁵.

Starting in the second half of the first century BC, Roman citizens in Egypt also had economic interest in land property and in land tenure. This phenomenon can be linked to Aulus Gabinius' intervention in Alexandria in 55 BC to establish Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus as ruler in Alexandria and to the consequent settlement in Alexandria of Roman cavalry and infantrymen⁶. This topic can complete our knowledge about the means of Roman economic penetration in Egypt in the decades before the provincial annexation.

In this paper I will focus on a case study which concerns a Roman citizen, a member of the equestrian *ordo* and of the royal council of Ptolemy XIII, whose name is Lucius Septimius. I will suggest here a new hypothesis for the identification of this Roman citizen with a land-owner attested in a papyrus of Julio-Claudian date.

³ In 65 BC, M. Licinius Crassus proposed a law to impose Roman taxation in Egypt, cf. Plutarch, *Crass.* 13.2. Cf. Hölbl (2001) 224-225; Huss (2001) 680. In 63 BC, P. Servilius Rullus proposed a law to involve Egypt and Alexandria within Roman possessions, cf. Cicero, *de leg. agr.* 1.8 and 2.41-42. Cf. Badian (1967) 178-192; on Rullus' agrarian law and the Egyptian question cf. Ferrary (1988) 154-155.

⁴ Epigraphic data from Delos and literary data passed on by Cicero (*II Verr.* 3.172-173; 5.154-157) show that grain and other precious goods came from Alexandria and the Egyptian *chora*. Cicero's private correspondence states that a merchant from Puteoli, Vestorius, produced in Puteoli the *caeruleum*, a color also named "Egyptian blue" (Vitruvius, *de Arch.* 7.11.1; Pliny the Elder, *N.H.* 33.13.162). Naval archeology confirms the existence of this commerce and allows us to suppose that this product was exported in the Western Mediterranean: in a wreck discovered near Marseille, Planier 3, archeologists found traces of this color. Cf. D'Arms (1981) 48-54, De Romanis (1993) 64; id. (1996) 735-740; Tchernia (1969) 307-309.

⁵ According to Cicero (*pro Rab. Post.* 30-31; 40) this office was a means for Rabirius to pay back the money promised to Aulus Gabinius. This office of financial responsibility in Ptolemaic Egypt guaranteed Gabinius the as well as the other Roman businessmen staying in Alexandria facilities to export their goods. In fact, Cicero suggests that they were numerous, cf. Cicero, *pro Rab. Post.* 39. Cf. Andreau (1978) 57-58.

⁶ Pompey approved the intervention of the proconsul of Syria Aulus Gabinius although the senate had voted a decree to authorize the governor of Cyprus and Cilicia, Spinther. Cf. Cassius Dio 39.55-59; Plutarch, *Ant.* 3. Huss (2001) 691-695.

For this purpose I will focus first on the papyrological documentation and discuss problematic readings and previous identifications. Secondly I will study the history of Lucius Septimius' real estate property and that of its successive owners. This analysis supports a new interpretation for his identity. Thirdly I will consider this case study in the general framework of two correlated phenomena: Roman economic penetration in Ptolemaic Egypt and land reforms in Italy during the 60s BC.

Papyrological evidence is significant, although not abundant. The papyrus *P. Lond.* II 195⁷, containing information about Lucius Septimius, has been the subject of two publications: the first by F.G. Kenyon in 1898⁸, the second by M. Johnson, V. Martin and A.S. Hunt in 1915⁹. The document has generally been dated to the first century AD. The imperial title in line 2 suggests that it dates from the reign of Tiberius¹⁰.

The text is a land register concerning the taxation of various estates located in the Arsinoite nome. Its purpose is to give a detailed account of the incidence of money-taxes on every parcel of these estates. The land category concerned is vineyard, which also included some parcels of garden land¹¹. The papyrus is composed of two fragments from the same roll which were probably successive. The end of the column represented in the first fragment (fragment (a)) is missing, as well as the beginning of the column represented in the second (fragment (b))¹². According to the editors, the text can be divided in three sections: the first (lines 3-14) concerns the money-taxes on vineyards belonging to an estate of an unknown owner¹³; the second section (lines 15-19) deals with the estate of Marcus Antonius Pallas and the different parcels composing it as well as with other properties; the third section (l. 20-31) probably concerns an estate not yet formed¹⁴.

⁷ *P. Ryl.* II (p. 243-245) and *P. Ryl.* II (p. 254-257).

⁸ Kenyon & Bell (1898) 127.

⁹ Johnson, Martin & Hunt (1915) 255.

¹⁰ Discussion about the chronology of the document can be found in Tomsin (1971) 355, n. 1; Parassoglou (1978) 23, n. 58.

¹¹ Cf. Johnson, Martin & Hunt (1915) 255; Tomsin (1971) 352.

¹² According to the editors, it is possible that the beginning of fragment (b) contained the end of the first section and the beginning of the second represented in the fragment (b). Cf. *P. Ryl.* II (p. 254).

¹³ The first editor noticed that the first two lines are in a different hand from the two fragments of the document. Consequently these lines have to be considered as the title of the text, the first section beginning in the third line. Cf. *P. Lond.* II (p. 127).

¹⁴ This is the interpretation proposed by the second editors, cf. *P. Ryl.* II (p. 244).

The section's structure is complete only for the first fragment, where the account of the component parts of estate is followed by details of taxation on each kind of land parcel (l. 3-13). It ends with the total money taxation for all vineyards and garden plots in the estate (l. 14). The second and third section structures are more difficult to reconstruct. According to the editors, the third section was similar to the first one, because of the similar form of features concerning taxations. They explained the different structure of lines detailing the component parts of the estate (l. 20-28) in supposing that the estate was not yet formed¹⁵.

It seems probable that lines 15-19 have to be distinguished from the following and the preceding sections and that the lines concerning the kind and the amount of money-taxes continued in the missing part of the fragment (a). Lines 15-19 concern a detailed account of taxable arouras of land belonging to different owners. The nomenclature formula of a parcel of Antonius Pallas' estate comes first (l. 15-16): it refers to both the current and the former owners of the parcel; the name of each former owner was preceded by the abbreviation (πρότερον), as is usually attested for nomenclature formulas of οὐσίαι. In lines 17-18, the genitive form of the owners' names and (πρότερον) preceding the former owners' names is again employed referring to 57 ar. of vineyard, while in lines 18-19 the formula reports the current owner's name of 6 ar. of vineyard. This section had to be followed by the detailed account of money-taxes. Problems of reading and interpretation occurring in these lines have repercussions on the historical reconstruction of this landed property¹⁶. I reproduce here the text according to the second edition (without the emendations suggested in *BL* VI 61) and its translation; then I will discuss its later emendations.

L. 15-19: Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Πάλλαντος (πρότερον) Γαλλίας
Πώλλη(ς) / <(πρότερον(?))> δὲ Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου ἀμπελών(ων)
ῶν (ἕκτη?), / .ε[.]δου (πρότερον) δὲ Ἑρώτος καὶ Χάρμου
(ἄρουραι) νζ (ῶν) ν(εοφύτων) μη δ' / β δ' (γίνονται)
(ἄρουραι) ν ζ, καὶ Φιλοξένου / το(ῦ(?)) Θέωνος (ἄρουραι) ζ, (ῶν)
ν(εοφύτων) β ζ, ληνῶ(νος) καὶ χρηστηρίω(ν) β.

Estate of Marcus Antonius Pallas, formerly of Gallia Polla and once of
Lucius Septimius. Vineyards of those taxed in the class of one-sixth

¹⁵ *P. Ryl.* II (p. 244).

¹⁶ *P. Lond.* II 195 (p. 127-128) = *P. Ryl.* II (p. 254-257), first century AD; origin: unknown. Emendations: *BL* 6, 61. Edition online: <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.lond; 2; 195/>.

(?), in the allotment of ----- formerly owned by Eros and Charmus, namely 57 ar. Of these 48 $\frac{1}{4}$ ar. are new planted, 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ar. are ----- Total 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ ar. Also in the allotment of Philoxenus son of Theon 6 ar. of which 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ar. are newly planted, 2 ar. in wine press and other gear, ----- »¹⁷.

The first problematical feature occurs in lines 15-16 and concerns the nomenclature formula designating M. Antonius Pallas' estate. The relationship between M. Antonius Pallas and the land of Gallia Polla is clearly suggested by the symbol "α -" (πρότερον): land has passed from Gallia Polla to M. Antonius Pallas. The estate nomenclature has been supposed to continue in the subsequent line, where the editors have completed the text with the symbol "α -" (πρότερον). This produces the formula Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Πάλλαντος (πρότερον) Γαλλίας Πώλλη(ς) / <(πρότερον(?))> δὲ Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου, which has been recognized by Parassoglou as one of three formulas employed in papyri to define οὐσία¹⁸. The authors that have studied this papyrus have accepted this emendation without discussing the question of <(πρότερον)> δέ . It has to be noticed that the presence of δέ is problematical. The occurrence of (πρότερον) δέ in these kinds of formulas is very unusual; it could suggest that the property of M. Antonius Pallas and Gallia Polla on one hand, and that of Lucius Septimius on the other, have to be distinguished. For my part, I think that this nomenclature concerns the same property. Various elements corroborate my hypothesis: papyri containing this formula show that the particle δέ does not necessarily imply that we are dealing with two different estates¹⁹; on the contrary this is the case when δέ is correlated to the particle μὲν²⁰. The editors' reconstruction allows us to resolve the unusual absence, after the mention of M. Antonius Pallas and Gallia Polla, of the number of arouras and of land categories to tax. In this way, these data are noticed after the estate nomenclature formula in line 16.

¹⁷ Johnson's translation, cf. Johnson (1936) 521-522.

¹⁸ Parassoglou (1978) 13.

¹⁹ BGU IX 1896 (after AD 166), 105-106: Ἡραῖς Ἀπολλωνίου (πρότερον) Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ καὶ Ὠριγένης (πρότερον) δὲ Γαῖου Μουσωνίου / Μαρίωνος ἀμπ(ελῶνος) ὄν (ἐκτη) τρυγω(μένου) (ἄρουρα) α καλα(μείας) (ἀρούρης) δ' ἡ' ἀμπ(ελῶνος) χα(λκοῦ) Γ [να]υβ(ίου) σι προ(σδιαγραφομένων) χμε / ἐπαρ(ουρίου) χα(λκοῦ) Βην προ(σδιαγραφομένων) σιε κολ(λύβου) ριε (γίνεται) χα(λκοῦ) (τάλαντον) α ἄλε ἐν (δραχμαῖς) κγ (ἡμωβελίω) / (χαλκοῖς 2) (ὀκταδράχμου) [εἰ]ς Εὐδαιμονίδ(α) Ἀσκ(ληπιάδου) (δραχμαῖ) η.

²⁰ P. Ryl. II 99 (third century AD), 3-4: οὐσίας / μὲν (πρότερον) Δορυφόρο[υ] ἀμέστου (ἀρούρας) ζ (πρότερον) δὲ Σενέκα ὁ(μοίως) ἀρούρας β.

Other reading problems concern lines 16-17. At the end of line 16 the second editors read some mark of writing²¹ as being the symbol “ζ”²². They completed the emendation of the first editor with: ἀμπελών(ων) ὦν (ἔκτη?). This emendation produces some anomalies due to the lack of the total number of arouras that had to be taxed. The gap at the beginning of line 17 was supposed to contain the name of the owner of Eros and Charmos’ land, followed by the symbol “α -” (πρότερον), suggesting a succession of two owners’ names²³, and by the particle δέ. On this subject, the most significant contribution comes from the studies of Tomsin and Foraboschi²⁴. Parassoglou and Rostovtzeff²⁵ only discussed this question in their notes; nevertheless their considerations are very interesting to a complete historical analysis of this item.

Tomsin focused firstly on the landowners mentioned in line 17, Eros and Charmos. He identified these people with imperial slaves²⁶. He supposed that the properties mentioned in lines 16-17 were linked: the land belonging to Marcus Antonius Pallas had firstly been the property of Eros and Charmos. Tomsin agreed with the reading of the second editors in line 16²⁷, while for the beginning of the line 17 he proposed πρόσδοος, i.e. the land category assigned to Eros and Charmos. This land had a specific juridical and administrative status: it was a particular kind of private property temporarily “conceded” by the Emperor, the land πρόσδοος that had to be distinguished by properties defined οὐσία in papyri²⁸.

²¹ The first editor already saw these marks of writing, cf. *P. Lond.* II 195, 16: [...] ἀμπελ. ὦν. ».

²² The use of this abbreviation is attested in other similar papyri, cf. Johnson, Martin & Hunt (1915) 257. Cf. Tomsin (1971) 353-354.

²³ *P. Ryl.* II (p. 255) 16-17: ἀμπελών(ων) ὦν (ἔκτη?), / α -.

²⁴ Cf. Tomsin (1964) 81-95, particularly 88-90; Tomsin (1971) 352-355.

²⁵ Parassoglou (1978) 23-24, n. 58, 59, 60, 64; Rostovtzeff (1988) 541 ff.

²⁶ Cf. Tomsin (1964) 89: the author identifies Eros with the slave mentioned by Plutarch as Ἐρῶς ὁ τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διοικῶν (Plutarch, *Apophteg.* 207.4). *Contra* Parassoglou (1978) 24, n. 63 and 64.

²⁷ *P. Ryl.* II (p. 255) 16: ἀμπελών(ων) ὦν (ἔκτη?). According to Tomsin (1971) 353-354, this restitution is perfectly justified by paleographical data. In fact, the λ superposed on abbreviation ἀμπε had to be developed in a plural genitive form, while the genitive ὦν was related to the succeeding symbol ζ.

²⁸ Cf. Tomsin (1964) 87-89: difference between οὐσία, πρόσδοος, ἐδάφη, κτήσις derived by different status, economically and juridically. According to Tomsin οὐσία means a complex organism in which simple parcels of land are just some of the elements that composed the οὐσία. The other words indicated simple land property that contributed to form the οὐσία. Cf. differently Parassoglou (1978) 9-10. On the fiscal and juridical status of imperial and private estates during Julio-Claudian times, cf. Rostovtzeff (1994) 135-144.

On the contrary, Foraboschi suggested a new emendation for the lines 16-17, proposing an emendation that connects the genitive form ὧν to the abbreviation ἀμπε^λ, the symbol “ζ” indicating the number of aouras exploited and taxed as vineyards. About the πρόσδοος reading, he argued that the presence of a “α –” (πρότερον) allows us to integrate the gap with a personal name, probably the name of the succeeding owner of Eros’ and Charmos’ land²⁹. This formula (without δέ) is currently attested in papyri concerning οὐσίαι³⁰, while papyrological occurrences of πρόσδοος land category present a different standardized formula: the πρότερον is followed by the owner’s name in genitive form and after that, by the land category, πρόσδοος³¹. In my view the restitution ἀμπελών(ων) ὧν (ἐκτη?) προ[σό]δου (πρότερον) δέ Ἑρωτος καὶ Χάρμου is problematical also because of the combination between the ἐκτη tax and the mention of a land category and its owners’ names³². The indication of the tax kind would be more coherent after the nomenclature of the estate as well as in a list of money taxes, as other papyri concerning ἐκτη tax show³³.

Concerning the owner Lucius Septimius, Foraboschi identified this Roman citizen with the owner of the οὐσία Σεουηριανή, returning to the identification first suggested by Michael Rostovtzeff³⁴. Parassoglou stated the absence of any direct relation between the οὐσία Σεουηριανή and Antonius Pallas’ property in *P. Lond.* II 195, as well as in other documents about both properties³⁵. It is regrettable that he did not investigate the genesis of Lucius Septimius’s estate.

The *BL* and the text published on Papyri.info (DDBDP) contain both emendations: on line 16 the genitive form of vineyards followed by the number of aouras noted on the land fiscal register; in line 17 the formula indicating that the land of Eros and Charmos is a land πρόσδοος. In my opinion, the reading in line 16 should be retained, while the formula (πρότερον) δέ Ἑρωτος καὶ Χάρμου allows us to suppose that an

²⁹ Foraboschi (1967) 173.

³⁰ Parassoglou (1978) 11-12.

³¹ Armoni (2000) 234.

³² Foraboschi (1967) 173, n. 1.

³³ *BGU* VII 1561 4; 1562 1 (210-204 BC or 193-187 BC); *BGU* IX 1896 (166 AD); *BGU* IX 1899 (172 AD); *P. Tebt.* II 343 69-70 (second century AD); *P. Oxy.* VI 917 2 (second or third century AD); *P. Oxy.* X 1283 13 (219 AD). Cf. *P. RyI.* II (p. 248-249).

³⁴ Rostovtzeff (1988) 543, n. 24.

³⁵ Parassoglou (1978) 24, n. 59.

owner's name preceded it in the text. I reproduce here the text with the emendations I have adopted and a new translation:

L. 15-19: Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Πάλλαντος (πρότερον) Γαλλίας Πώλλη(ς) / <(πρότερον(?))> δὲ Λουκίου Σεπτίμιου ἀμπελών(ων) ζ / ε. [.]δου (πρότερον) δὲ Ἑρώτος καὶ Χάρμου (ἄρουραι) νζ (ῶν) ν(εοφύτων) μη δ' / β δ' (γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) ν ζ, καὶ Φιλοξένου / το(ῦ(?)) Θέωνος (ἄρουραι) ζ, (ῶν) ν(εοφύτων) β ζ, ληνῶ(νος) καὶ χρηστηρίω(ν) β.

(Estate) of Marcus Antonius Pallas, formerly of Gallia Polla and <once> of Lucius Septimius, 6 ar. of vineyards. (Allotment) of ----- -- formerly owned by Eros and Charmus, namely 57 arouras. Of these 48 ¼ ar. are newly planted, 2 ¼ ar. are ----- Total 50 ½ ar. Also (allotment) of Philoxenus son of Theon 6 ar. of which 2 ½ ar. are newly planted, 2 ar. in wine press and other gear, -----.

Standard οὐσίαι terminology clarifies the chronological succession of landowners mentioned in line 16 of *P. Lond.* II 195: the parcels of land which were included in Marcus Antonius Pallas' estate during the third decade of the first century AD first belonged to Lucius Septimius, and afterwards to Gallia Polla. I aim to establish a chronology for each one of these estates, while taking into account the difficulty in specifying the year of land acquisition. I start with the identification of Gallia Polla because this element will throw light on the phases of the creation of Lucius Septimius' estate.

The identification of Gallia Polla had not raised any problems since the interpretation suggested by Michael Rostovtzeff. Parassoglou did not pronounce himself decidedly on this identification³⁶. Rostovtzeff identified this woman with a member of the senatorial family of the Gallii. This *gens* is attested in literary sources as a family that supported Antonius in his conflict with Octavian during the 30s BC. Literary evidence presents a very interesting picture of two members of this family: Marcus Gallius and Quintus Gallius. The former was a senator during the administration of Augustus; he has been identified with the senator of the same name mentioned in Cicero's *Philippics*. So it seems possible that he had been a

³⁶ Rostovtzeff (1988) 542, n. 19: the author argued that this property was the result of a land concession by Antonius to his partisans of the Gallii family. On this identification, cf. Parassoglou (1978) 21 and 23. Firstly, the author considers this identification without any significant comment; secondly, he formulated another hypothesis according to which, *Gallia Polla* would have been "most likely a local owner whose property was formerly owned by a L. Septimius".

praetor and ally of Antonius³⁷. The second one is remembered for the attempt on Augustus' life; after that he would have been expelled from Rome³⁸. The tradition handed down by ancient authors proves that the Gallii family belonged to the political allies of Antonius.

According to some authors, since the 40s BC this *gens* would have obtained land concessions in Egypt: the political alliance with Antonius and his politic and institutional role in Egypt would have guaranteed the acquisition of land property by his partisans; Gallia Polla could have acquired Antonius' property³⁹ by means of a testamentary legacy. In this way some scholars have explained the papyrological evidence about Falcidius, partisan of Antonius during the second half of the first century BC⁴⁰: Falcidius benefited from a land grant of Antonius. However, it was also possible that Roman citizens acquired land properties in Egypt by a sale act, as the juridical and administrative reforms of the last Ptolemies suggest⁴¹.

Whether this land was assigned by grant, or whether it had been acquired by means of a purchase, it seems likely that the origins of

³⁷ Cicero, *Philipp.* 13: the praetor would have been a soldier within Antonius's legions in 43 BC. Senator M. Gallius is mentioned also in the life of Tiberius by Suetonius: Emperor Tiberius would have been appointed as heir by M. Gallius. The emperor accepted will about patrimonial properties but refused to adopt his name because he had been enemy of Augustus, cf. Suet., *Tib.* 6.3: *Post reditum in urbem a M. Gallio senatore testamento adoptatus hereditate adita mox nomine abstinuit, quod Gallius aduersarum Augusto partium fuerat.*

³⁸ Tradition about Q. Gallius is divided on this point. According to the tradition passed on by Appian (*B.C.* 3.95) and Suetonius (*Aug.* 27.8-9) Q. Gallius was tortured and murdered as Augustus wished.

³⁹ Evidence by Roman Egypt proves that Gallia Polla's estate had an important extension in the Arsinoite: according to papyrological evidence Gallia Polla had land parcels at Herakleia (*P. Berl. Leigh.* II 37 (AD 142-143)); Karanis (*P. Mich.* VI 372 (AD 179-180 or AD 211-212)); Theadelphia (*SB XIV* 11657 (AD 138-139); *SB XVI* 12676 (mid-second century AD)).

⁴⁰ Cf. *P. Ryl.* II 138 (date: AD 34; origin: Euhemeria, Arsinoite), 10-13: τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας ἐν τῷ / Δρομῷ <κατενέμῃσαν(?)> φυτὰ ἐλάινα διακώσια ἐν τοῖς πρότερον / Φαλκιδίου. In this way, cf. Capponi (2005) 106; Parassoglou (1978) 55; Rostovtzeff (1988) 542.

⁴¹ Since the first half of the second century BC, notably after the revolts in the Thebaid, Ptolemaic authorities partially reformed the administration of lands and houses that had been confiscated or that were ownerless. This kind of real property was so administered by the department of the ἵδιος λόγος and was sold at public auctions. Confiscated land categories were temple and clerouchic / katoikic land. Cf. Swarney (1970) on the Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos; Alessandri (2005) on the Roman Idios Logos. As a later document shows (*P. Bingen* 45, 32 BC) a Roman citizen had acquired land from the department of the ἵδιος λόγος. Looking at this testimony in retrospect, economic actors from the Western Mediterranean could perhaps have access to land by means of purchases at public auctions.

the estate of Gallia Polla estate go back to the last decades of Ptolemaic regency, probably around the 40s. The *terminus post quem* corresponds to the beginning of Antonius' government in the East Mediterranean Roman provinces⁴² and of his political action in Egypt. The political and institutional position of Antonius in Ptolemaic rule certainly created a favorable context for Roman citizens hoping to achieve economic goals in Egypt.

The chronology of the confiscation of this property can be more easily established. The most plausible dates are the creation of the Roman province of Egypt or the victory of Octavian over Antonius and Cleopatra. According to Cassius Dio the years succeeding the Octavian victory at Actium were marked by a policy of land confiscation, especially punishing the partisans of Cleopatra and Antonius who were land-owners in Egypt⁴³. This policy of land confiscation allowed Roman authorities to have areas distrainable for public auctions in Egypt. This land category was administered by the fiscal section of the ἰδιος λόγος⁴⁴; it is the most involved in the constitution and development of imperial and private estates known as οὐσίαι⁴⁵.

If this chronology is plausible, as I think it is, Lucius Septimius' property was constituted approximately in the middle of the first century BC. Literary evidence corroborates this hypothesis because it proves that a member of the Septimia *gens* was in Egypt during the first century BC⁴⁶.

As I show in my historical introduction, the year 55 BC represents an important stage in the "militarization" of Egypt: while Gabinius returned to his province after Ptolemy XII regained his rule, some cohorts and generals stayed in Alexandria guaranteeing institutional order⁴⁷.

⁴² Cf. Hölbl (2001) 241-242; Huss (2001) 731-740.

⁴³ Cassius Dio 51.17.7. A confiscation by Cleopatra after Actium seems less plausible, cf. Cassius Dio 51.5.4-5. Cf. Parassoglou (1978) 3-5.

⁴⁴ Swaney (1970) (Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt); Alessandrì (2005) (Roman Egypt).

⁴⁵ I think more probable Parassoglou's interpretation. He supposes that concessions and grants were not the procedure for the creation of imperial and private estates. More plausible seems the hypothesis that emphasized sales at public auctions of land seized after the Octavian conquest of Egypt. Cf. Parassoglou (1978) 3-13; *contra* Lo Cascio (2000) 33-35; 125

⁴⁶ Caesar, *B.C.* 3.104; Appian, *B.C.* 2.84-85; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 78-79; Florus, 2.13.52.

⁴⁷ Caesar, *B.C.* 3. 4: *D ex Gabinianis Alexandria, Gallos Germanosque, quos ibi A. Gabinius praesidii causa apud regem Ptolomaeum reliquerat, Pompeius filius eum classe adduxerat*, cf. *ibid.* 103: *Sed qui ab eo missi erant, confecto legationis officio liberius cum militibus regis colloqui coeperunt eosque hortari, ut suum officium Pompeio praestarent, neve eius fortunam despicerent. In hoc erant numero complures Pompei milites, quos ex eius exercitu acceptos in Syria Gabinius Alexandriam traduxerat bello confecto apud Ptolomaeum, patrem pueri, reliquerat.*

Among these, one of the most significant members of the military hierarchy was Lucius Septimius. He had been centurion of Pompey during the mandate against Cilician pirates (67-66 BC)⁴⁸. Then he had been promoted to the office of *tribunus militum* of Gabinius' cohorts⁴⁹. His military career shows an important social and political evolution that, according to Cl. Nicolet, resulted in the acquisition of equestrian status⁵⁰. In 48 BC he was a member of Ptolemy XIII's council and he played an important role in the murder of Pompey during the civil war⁵¹. Cicero mentions the Septimia *gens* in his speech against the agrarian law of P. Servilius Rullus but his testimony does not permit a coherent historical analysis⁵². On the whole, the available documentation makes a social and historical study about this family during the Republican age problematic⁵³.

In spite of this, I think that some positive data prove the validity of this identification: on one hand the onomastic data and its frequency in Egypt at this time; on the other, the social and military status of Lucius Septimius. Firstly, it seems clear that the onomastic data are without any doubt a mark of Roman citizenship. The rarity of this name in Egypt at

⁴⁸ Plutarch, *Pomp.* 79.1.

⁴⁹ Caesar, *B.C.* 3.104: *His tum cognitis rebus amici regis, qui propter aetatem eius in procuratore erant regni, sive timore adducti, ut postea praedicabant, sollicitato exercitu regio ne Pompeius Alexandriam Aegyptumque occuparet, sive despecta eius fortuna, ut plerumque in calamitate ex amicis inimici existunt, his, qui erant ab eo missi, palam liberaliter responderunt eumque ad regem venire iusserunt; ipsi clam consilio inito Achillam, praefectum regium, singulari hominem audacia, et L. Septimium, tribunum militum, ad interficiendum Pompeium miserunt.*

⁵⁰ Cf. Nicolet (1974) 1018-1019.

⁵¹ Cf. Caesar, *B.C.* 3.104; Appian, *B.C.* 2.84-85; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 78-79.

⁵² Cicero, *de leg. agr.* 3.3: *Completi sunt animi auresque vestrae, Quirites, me gratificantem Septimiis, Turraniis ceterisque Sullanarum adsignationum possessoribus agrariae legi et commodis vestris obsistere. Hoc si qui crediderunt, illud prius crediderint necesse est, hac lege agraria quae promulgata est adimi Sullanos agros vobisque dividi, aut denique minui privatorum possessiones ut in eas vos deducamini.*

⁵³ *RE* 1560-1562, n. 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12; Broughton (1938) 617; *id.* (1986), 191-192. Only two other members of the *gens* Septimia are known by literary evidence: a Publius Septimius, *ornatus vir* and witness in the trial against L. Flaccus, had a *vilicus* in Asia Minor, so it is plausible that he had an estate there (Cicero, *Pro Flacco.* 11 and 8). C. Septimius (*RE* n. 7) had been praetor in 57 and was elected proconsul of Asia Minor the following year (Cicero, *Post. red. senat.* 23; *id.*, *ad Fam.* 8.8.5-6). Our Lucius Septimius has to be distinguished from the Lucius Septimius, son of a *magister Capitolinus* attested in an inscription from Rome dating to the first century BC or AD. Cf. Nicolet (1974) 1020-1021. The *gens* Septimia is also attested in an inscription from Chalcis, probably concerning a *collegium* of Neoi and dated to the mid-first century BC. Cf. Hatzfeld (1919) 71, n. 9; 402.

the end of the Republican age and at the beginning of the Julio-Claudian era strengthens this identification⁵⁴. Just one other occurrence of the same name survives in papyrological evidence. It occurs in a list of centurions dated to the first quarter of the first century AD: “Lucius Septimius, son of Gaius, of the Scaptian tribe, from Florence, of the century of Gallus Titidius”⁵⁵. This evidence cannot be combined for chronological reasons: the date of the centurion list is hardly compatible with the chronology that has been established for the formation of Antonius Pallas’ properties in Egypt, that is during the 30s AD⁵⁶. Moreover the status of these soldiers, whether they were veterans or on active duty, is uncertain and the attribution of property rights to a centurion seems improbable⁵⁷. I wish now to develop in a more detailed way some considerations on the social and military status of Lucius Septimius as attested by literary evidence. L. Septimius was a member of the equestrian order and a *tribunus militum* in Egypt, where he had been integrated within the Ptolemaic military hierarchy. Structurally, a military status in Ptolemaic Egypt led to a land grant: this consideration is also valid for Romans and Italians. Besides, L. Septimius’ military position and his role in the royal council were sufficient enough for him to obtain a land concession. The historical and economic context was favorable to the acquisition and preservation of land by military officials and cavalry⁵⁸. The case study

⁵⁴ According to the results of a research for the name Σεπίμιος between 200 BC and AD 150 by means of Papyri.info’s navigator, 5 occurrences concern the prefect Septimius Vegetus (*P. Flor.* I 55; 61; *P. Hamb.* I 4; *P. Iand.* IV 53; *P. Oxy.* II 273); 4 occurrences concern Septimii Severi (*SPP* 20 67 V col. I; *SB* VIII 9906; *SB* XVI 12612; *SB* XVIII 13956); 2 are fragmentary (*P. Leipz.* 3; *SB* X 10740); 1 occurrence (*P. Fay.* 106) concerns Septimus Makron (Hadrian’s reign). The last two occurrences concern a centurion in a list of legionaries (*P. Mich.* XII 637) and our landowner in *P. Lond.* II 195.

⁵⁵ *P. Mich.* XII 637 5-9: Λούκιος Σεπίμιος /Γαίου υἱὸς φυλῆς /Σκαπτία Πλωρεντία /κεντυρία(ς) Γάλλου Τιτιδίου.

⁵⁶ Cf. Parassoglou (1978) 23-24.

⁵⁷ Juridical surveys on Roman Egypt, notably the Gnomon of Idios Logos, document the interdiction against the acquisition of land by soldiers in active duty in the province concerned by their own military service. Cf. *BGU* V 243: οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐκωλύθησαν καθ’ ἣν στρατεύονται ἐπα[ρ]χ[ί]αν ἐνκ[τ]ῆσθαι, cf. Lewis (1982) 143-148; Reinach (1920) 98-99; On the management of ancient Ptolemaic military land under Roman domination, cf. Rostovtzeff (1994) 108-112; 118-121.

⁵⁸ I am focusing here on Ptolemaic reforms in administration and management of military tenures. During the last quarter of the second century BC and in the first half of the first century BC, Ptolemaic rulers accorded rights for preservation, testamentary transmission and cession of land to katoikic cavalry and to generals of the army. These laws accelerated the process of the privatization of military lands. Papyrological evidence suggests that the achievement of the privatization process occurred during the last decades of

of Lucius Septimius is one of the best documented but it is not the only evidence on this subject.

Epigraphic, papyrological and literary evidence is useful to reconstruct the phenomenon of Roman and Italian integration in Ptolemaic troops. I consider that this phenomenon also had economic consequences and that it can be placed within a larger process: Roman economic penetration in Ptolemaic Egypt at the end of Republican age.

Italians and Roman citizens joined the Ptolemaic army during the first century BC⁵⁹; they probably belonged to the high military hierarchy and to katoikic cavalry. This evidence has generally been dated to the middle of the first century⁶⁰. The first example, found in Crete at Gortyna, concerns C. Lutatius Crispus, patron of Gortyna and στρατιώτης Πτολεμαϊκός: the association of these titles suggests that he belonged to a high hierarchic level, maybe closer to the katoikic cavalry⁶¹. The second, found in Egypt, gives information about a cavalry official, Γάιος (Caius), and his knights, οἱ ἱππεῖς⁶². In this case onomastic data could raise some problems about the ethnic origins of the name because it could be Roman, Italian or Greek especially when a patronymic is associated with it⁶³. Another inscription, dating from 32 BC gives evidence for a Roman general, C. Iulius Papus, who is ἑπαρχος / *tribunus militum* in the Ptolemaic army⁶⁴. Finally, a papyrus shows a Roman

Ptolemaic rule. Cf. *P. Tebt.* I 124 (118 BC) and *BGU* IV 1185 (60 BC). On katoikic land cf. Oates (1995) 153-161; Scheuble-Reiter (2012). On the privatization process that began under the Ptolemies cf. recently Monson (2012), particularly chapter four.

⁵⁹ During the third and the second centuries BC Greek citizens from Syracuse and from Sicily and south Italy in general joined the Ptolemaic army. For Greeks citizens from Syracuse, cf. La'Da 2002 289-291; Taranto, cf. La'Da 2002 294; for Sicilian ethnicities cf. La'Da 2002 284-285. Roman ethnicities occurred especially in inscriptions from the Thebaid and principally belong to a religious context; cf. La'Da 2002 278-279.

⁶⁰ *I.C.* IV 215 C (mid-first century BC); *SEG* XX 509 (mid-first century BC); Cf. *SB* I 681 (second century BC); *I. Hermoupolis* 6 (87 BC); *I. Philae* I 63 (34 BC). Cf. *O. Edfou* III 371 (dating from the first century BC; 49 or 27 BC).

⁶¹ *I. C.* IV 215 C (mid-first century BC): Γ(άιος) Λυτ{ο}άτιος {Λυτάτιος} Κρίσπος στρατιώτης Πτο(λεμαϊκός) Γορτυνίων πρόξε/νος καὶ πολίτας αὐτὸς καὶ ἑγγονοί. Cf. Capponi (2005) 16; Heilporn (2010) 103.

⁶² *SEG* XX 509 (mid-first century BC): Βασιλεῖ / Πτολεμαίω / Γάιος καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς.

⁶³ The *praenomen* Gaius is often a mark of Italian-Roman origin. Some inscriptions present the *praenomen* Gaius associated with Greek patronymics; these data suggest a Greek origin. This is the case, for example, of people mentioned in *I. Hermoupolis* 6, dating from 78 BC. It is a dedication to the rulers Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra Tryphaine for the cult of Apollo.

⁶⁴ *I. Philae* I 63 (32 BC): it is a dedication to the goddess Isis. The author of this inscription is a Roman citizen, a general (ἑπαρχος) in the Ptolemaic army named

citizen, Apicius, who probably settled in Egypt in 55 BC. He had property rights on a parcel of arable land belonging to the category of land *πρόσοδος*⁶⁵. According to literary sources, cavalry cohorts of Gauls and Germans settled in Alexandria after Gabinius' departure were permanently linked to Egypt by means of marriage and descent⁶⁶.

The direct and indirect evidence is coherent: Roman legionaries definitively settled in Egypt. This phenomenon involves possibilities in acquiring land property rights and passing them on by inheritance. Ptolemaic reforms in 60 BC granted these rights to katoikic cavalry and to higher officials⁶⁷.

It will be interesting to consider at this point Octavian's edict on the profit of Roman veterans. This edict has been preserved in a papyrus dating from the second or third century AD⁶⁸, but its contents suggest that it had been promulgated by Octavian as *triumvir*, i.e. when the Ptolemies still ruled Egypt. This edict granted fiscal, social and political privileges to Roman veterans⁶⁹ which were very close to the privileges granted to katoikic cavalry by Ptolemies during the years 60s BC. This edict suggests

C. Iulius Papos. It was a collective dedication by C. Iulius Papos, his sons and others centurions. Cf. also *O. Edfu* 371, dated of 49 or 27 BC, an account of wine and corn supply for Roman, Greeks and Egyptians soldiers. Cf. Heilporn (2010) 108; Capponi (2005) 16-17.

⁶⁵ *BGU* VIII 1828, dated to the first half of the first century BC. This petition shows that a Roman citizen, Apicius, was owner of a land parcel belonging to category of land *πρόσοδος*. Editors supposed that this Apicius was one of the soldiers who came in Egypt in 55 BC, at the time of Gabinius' expedition. This hypothesis does not exclude the possibility that Apicius obtained his land by buying it by the department of the ἱδίοις λόγος. Cf. Armoni (2000) n. 3: another document concerning land *πρόσοδος* has been recently published. This category of land is documented also in Roman Egypt, cf. *BGU* IV 1197; *BGU* VII 1669; *P. Ryl.* II 145. Cf. also *P. Ryl.* II 73. Capponi (2005) 106.

⁶⁶ Caesar, *B.C.* 3.110: *Haec constabant ex Gabinianis militibus qui iam in consuetudinem Alexandrinae vitae ac licentiae venerant et nomen disciplinamque populi Romani dediderant uxoresque duxerant, ex quibus plerique liberos habebant.*

⁶⁷ *P. Tebt.* I 124 (118 BC) and *BGU* IV 1185 (60 BC).

⁶⁸ *BGU* II 628 (= *CPL* 103 = *ChLA* X 416), probably of 40-31 BC. Capponi (2005) 17; Campbell (1996) 208-209.

⁶⁹ *BGU* II 628: "I have decided to proclaim that all veterans shall be granted [exemption from] tribute [_ _], to bestow on them, their parents and children, and the wives they have or shall have, exemption in every respect, and so that they may be the Roman citizens with every proper legal right, they have to be exempt (from taxation), free from military service, and excused from the performance of compulsory public services. Moreover, the above-mentioned are to have the right of registering their vote and being enrolled in the census in any tribe they wish, and if they wish to be enrolled in absence, that will be granted in respect of those who have been mentioned above, the veterans themselves, their parents, wives and children [...]" Translation of Campbell (1996) 208.

that an important number of Roman veterans having Roman citizenship were settled in Egypt at the end of the Republican age. Certainly the importance of Roman soldiers in Egypt increased after Caesar's intervention⁷⁰. Nevertheless, it is likely that the crucial time for the development of this integration process and consequently the settlement of Italians and Romans in the Egyptian chora was the middle of the first century BC.

For this purpose I focus now on the problem concerning the place of the Egyptian *chora* within Roman land policy. The political context proves that Egypt was thereafter a client of Rome. It would be enough to remember that Ptolemy XII paid 6 000 silver talents to obtain political legitimization by Caesar and Pompey in 60 BC⁷¹. At this time, as I argued before, Roman citizens had significant economic interests in Ptolemaic Egypt, while others acted as soldiers in the Ptolemaic army. During the 60s, the Egyptian *chora* and Egyptian grain took an important place in public debates about agrarian and corn supply questions in Rome. I think that law projects about the creation of an Egyptian province or about the involvement of Egypt in the agrarian law of Rullus had real connections with the presence of Roman citizens in Egyptian *chora* and, therefore, with the importance of their economic interests there.

It is interesting to note that, although Alexander I's will raised questions during Sulla's dictatorship, major sources relating to public debates about the acquisition of inheritance are connected to the 60s. This means, in my point of view, that the Egyptian question reaches an important scale during this decade especially in public debate about land reforms⁷². In his speech against P. Servilius Rullus' law project, Cicero dedicated some chapters to the Alexandrian question⁷³. He focused on the juridical and administrative procedure that Romans had to follow for acquiring suzerainty in the Ptolemaic reign. I think that these passages have to be emphasized, because they could give some answers about *realia* to which the author makes reference to strengthen his argumentation.

⁷⁰ After Caesar's intervention in Egypt, 4 legions of Roman soldiers were stationed in Alexandria. For a study on Caesar's intervention in Ptolemaic Egypt, cf. Geraci (1983) 21-46.

⁷¹ Suetonius, *Div. Iul.* 54.3; Caesar, *BC* 3.107; Cicero, *ad Att.* 2.16.2. Hölbl (2001) 225-226; Huss (2001) 682-684.

⁷² Cf. Cicero, *de leg. agr.*; id., *de rege Alex.* fr. 2.4, cf. *Haec Schol. Ambrosianus*; Plutarch, *Crass.* 2-3; Suetonius, *Div. Iul.* 11. Hölbl (2001) 224-225; Huss (2001) 680-682.

⁷³ Cicero, *de leg. agr.* 1.8; 2.41-44.

Cicero emphasized the legal procedure known as *adiudicatio*⁷⁴. This legal process is documented in private and public law⁷⁵. In *ius privatum* the *adiudicatio* was applicable in disputes about a real property title between two actors: *adiudicatio* denotes the judge's decision in recognizing and attributing to the actor of *rei vindicatio* his property rights⁷⁶.

In public law, the term is employed to define a legal action recognizing property rights on land. We have some data from the epigraphic agrarian statute of 111 BC⁷⁷. The *adiudicatio* appears in three sections of the law. In all cases, the *duumviri* who were elected or appointed according to this statute were responsible for *adiudicationes*⁷⁸. Land being the object of *adiudicatio* appears in a law section concerning land that had been sold by Roman citizens sent to Africa in 122 BC⁷⁹; it belonged to the category of *ager privatus vectigalisque*. The first occurrence of the *adiudicatio* concerns some land that had been originally assigned to colonists in 122 BC, which could have been passed on by inheritance or alienated by means of a sale. The statute makes it clear that the jurisdictional activity of the *duumvir* had to concern recently assigned land that had not been privately sold by the colonist or by his heirs. In this case, the property title on land that had been originally assigned to colonists, needed to be recognized by Roman authorities⁸⁰, as a legitimate private property right⁸¹. The second occurrence of *adiudicatio* concerns some

⁷⁴ Cicero, *de leg. agr.* 2.43: *Hac tanta de re P- Rullus cum ceteris decemviris conlegis suis iudicabit, et utrum iudicabit? Nam utrumque ita magnum est ut nullo modo neque concedendum neque ferendum sit. Volet esse popularis; populo Romano adiudicabit. Ergo idem ex sua lege uendet Alexandream, uendet Aegyptum, urbis copiosissimae pulcherrimorumque agrorum iudex, arbiter, dominus, rex denique opulentissimi regni reperietur. Non sumet sibi tantum, non appetet; iudicabit Alexandream regis esse, a populo Romano abiudicabit.*

⁷⁵ Arangio-Ruiz (1974) 15-70.

⁷⁶ Arangio-Ruiz (1974) 26-42.

⁷⁷ CIL I² 585; Crawford (1996) n. 2, 53-180; de Ligt (2003) 146-157; Sacchi (2006).

⁷⁸ Crawford (1996) n. 2, 61-62: *vac Iluir, quei [ex h(ac) l(eg)e] factus] / 62 [creatusue erit ---]; 69: pro eo agro Iluir reddito; 90: [--- Iluir, quei ex h(ac) l(eg)e] factus creatusue erit.*

⁷⁹ Crawford (1996) n. 2, 61-62; 68-69; 90-91.

⁸⁰ De Ligt (2003), 149 r 62: *+++[--- eius] agri q[uei] d[at]us ad[s]ignatus est, ab eo herediue] eius non [ueni]e[re];* “--- of that] land which [has or shall have been] granted [or assigned, whatever] of it has not [been (privately) sold by his heir]”. Cf. Crawford (1996) 119 and 172-173.

⁸¹ Crawford (1996) n. 2, 61-62: *quod ei[us] agri ex h(ac) l(eg)e] adiudicari licebit, quod ita comperietur, id ei heredeiue eius adsignat[um] esse iudicato. Vac [vac].* De Ligt (2003) 149 agrees with Crawford's restitutions. Cf. Sacchi (2006) 454-456, without any comment or consideration about these restitutions; he does not mention de Ligt's contributions on this question.

land that had been bought by private individuals from colonists whose land assignments had not been properly made. In this case the magistrate had to attribute to the purchasers a correspondent amount of land that had not been sold by the Roman state. Here the expression *minus adiudicaverit* means that the *duumvir* had not recognized the property title acquired by means of a purchase. So we deal here with the jurisdictional activity aiming to recognize and establish, according to Roman juridical categories, private property rights on a parcel of land⁸². The third clause concerns negative consequences for people making false property declarations: land *adiudicatio* does not have to be applied in these cases⁸³. All the *adiudicata* lands are in Africa; there is no *adiudicatio* of Italian *ager publicus*.

This evidence can usefully be compared to Cicero's testimony in the speech *de lege agraria*⁸⁴. Cicero referred the legal process of *adiudicatio* to Alexandria and to Egyptian territories, i.e. to a property question; he did not relate this process to an inheritance acquisition. This choice is dependent on the inapplicability of *adiudicatio* to a process of *vindicatio hereditatis*⁸⁵. It is interesting to note that the only other mention of *adiudicatio* in the same speech is related to some *agri in ora maritima* that Romans conceded to Hiempsale, king of Numidia. The only difference between the African, Numidian and Egyptian territorial situations is the inexistence of *ager publicus populi Romani* in Egypt. This right could have been achieved just after Ptolemy X's acquisition of Alexander I's inheritance.

It is probable that the legal principle of *adiudicatio* was necessary to Cicero to describe the juridical and economic position of Roman citizens having land businesses in Egypt. Like in the agrarian law of 111 BC, in which the people that benefited from *adiudicatio* were owners who needed

⁸² Cf. de Ligt (2003) 157 r. 68-69: *quoi agrum de eo agro, quei ager in Africa est, quei colono e[ui]e / 69 [qui] in colonei numero scriptus est, datus adsignatus est, ita emptum esse comperietur uti in h. l. sc[ri]ptum est, quod eius agri ex h.l. euis heredisue eius minu]s adiudicauerit, tum tantundem modum agri ei, quoi ita emptum esse comperiet[ur], tutoreue ei]us procuratoreue eius herediue quoui eorum de eo agro, quei ager in Africa est, pro eo agro l]uir reddito; quoi ita reddiderit. Cf. Crawford (1996) 172-174; Sacchi (2006) 456-457.*

⁸³ Crawford (1996) n. 2, 90-91: *[--- l]uir, quei ex h(ac) l(eg)e factus creatusue erit, sei apud eum is, quoi ager in Africa adsignatus est, a]grum in eo numero agri professus erit, quo in numero eum agrum, quem is, quoi adsigna[tus est, professus erit, profiteri non oportuerit, eum agrum ei nei dato] neue reddito neue adiudicato.*

⁸⁴ Cicero, *de leg. agr.* 43-44.

⁸⁵ Arangio-Ruiz (1974) 47-49.

a legal recognition of their property rights within Roman juridical categories, Roman citizens having land in Egypt needed a juridical frame for the recognition or the attribution of their private property rights.

Other passages of Cicero's speech suggest that Roman *legationes liberae* to the *exterae nationes* aimed to achieve economic goals, the official and apparent reasons being of a political or diplomatic nature. These allusions certainly also referred to the Egyptian question and to the renewed problem of Ptolemy X's acquisition of Alexander I's inheritance⁸⁶.

In this article I have tried to demonstrate that the Lucius Septimius attested in papyrological evidence can be identified with the Lucius Septimius who integrated into the Ptolemaic army and royal council from 55 BC onwards. I have founded this interpretation on a renewed analysis of *P. Lond.* II 195 that shows, in my opinion, the existence of direct relationships between the vineyard of Lucius Septimius, the property of Gallia Polla and finally the estate of M. Antonius Pallas. The two former properties had, in my view, republican origins, while the latter was in the initial stages of its creation. The chronology established for the document's production seems to suggest that we are dealing with the reign of Tiberius: at this time, M. Antonius Pallas had probably just been freed and begun to acquire land parcels composing the estate later known as Παλλαντιανή οὔσια⁸⁷. Modalities of land acquisition by Lucius Septimius, studied in the administrative and legal context of Ptolemaic land reforms during the first century BC, show that Ptolemaic Egypt was a favorable juridical, social and economic environment for the integration of other citizens, such as Romans. The case of Lucius Septimius is particularly significant in this context, because of his social and economic status and his role in the Ptolemaic army after Gabinius' experience. At the same time, the historical and institutional study of relationships between Rome and Ptolemaic Egypt allows us to situate the settlement of Roman legionaries and cavalry in Egypt as a consequence

⁸⁶ Cicero, *de leg. agr.* 1.8: *Iam illa omnibus in provinciis, regnis, liberis populis quam acerba, quam formidolosa, quam quaestuosa concursatio xvialis futura sit, non videtis? Hereditatum obeundarum causa quibus vos legationes dedistis, qui et privati et privatum ad negotium exierunt non maximis opibus neque summa auctoritate praediti, tamen auditis profecto quam graves eorum adventus sociis nostris esse soleant. Cf. ibid. 2.45: Atque illud circumspicite vestris mentibus una, Quirites. Legatos nostros, homines auctoritate tenui, qui rerum privatarum causa legationes liberas obeunt, tamen exterae nationes ferre vix possunt. Grave est enim nomen imperi atque id etiam in levi persona pertimescitur, propterea quod vestro, non suo nomine, cum hinc egressi sunt, abutuntur.*

⁸⁷ Parassoglou (1978) 23-24 and 81.

of clientele relationships established between Roman magistrates and the Ptolemaic ruler, Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysios. Roman economic goals in Egypt strongly increased in this context, especially in commercial activities as well as in land property and management by Roman soldiers and businessmen. Economic consequences of the settlement of Roman legionaries in Egypt can be placed in this context. This economic, social and institutional reality has some connections with the land policy being played out in Rome in the same years, notably because the resolution of the Egyptian question and the acquisition of the Egyptian *chora* would have reduced human pressure on Italian soil. The Roman seizure of the Egyptian *chora* would have enabled the redirection to the Western Mediterranean, particularly to the markets of Rome and Puteoli, the grain surplus produced on Egyptian estates⁸⁸.

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⁸⁸ P. Bingen 45 (32 BC). Papyrological evidence allows the estimation of economic consequences: during the last years of Ptolemaic rule, a Roman citizen named *Quintus Cascellius* had bought arable land all over the Egyptian *chora*; he benefited from a fiscal exemption to export 10 000 artabas of grain and it is plausible to suppose that this grain also reached the Roman market. Cf. Heilporn (2010) 108-109.

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DEUX INSCRIPTIONS GRECQUES DU BOUBASTEION D'ALEXANDRIE

Abstract: Publication of two Greek inscriptions on stone, one Ptolemaic, one Roman, discovered in 2009 in the so-called 'Boubasteion' of Alexandria. The first is a dedication to one Megamedes by a *koinon* of soldiers during the reign of Ptolemy IV. Particularly noteworthy, with the ethnics of the military, is the aulic title, τῶν πρώτων φίλων, which seems to be the earliest attestation known at the present time. The second inscription is a dedication by an Alexandrian family, on behalf of the emperor Antoninus Pius, to three deities, Artemis Phosphoros, Bubastis and a third one, of a statue of "the lord Sarapammôn". An addendum explores the possibility of identifying the 'Boubasteion' / Artemision with the *koreion* of a virgin goddess attested by late Roman sources.

LE CONTEXTE

En novembre 2009 la démolition, à Alexandrie, de l'ancien commissariat de police du quartier de Kôm el-Dikka, situé entre les rues Soliman Yousri au nord et Ismail Fahmi au sud, révéla l'existence, sous les ruines de ce bâtiment, d'un sanctuaire jusqu'alors inconnu. Les nombreuses statuettes votives de chattes ou d'enfants découvertes dans son sol, dont certaines dédiées «à Boubastis», lui ont aussitôt valu l'appellation de «*Boubasteion*»¹. Nous conservons par commodité cette appellation même s'il n'en existe pas d'attestation écrite et qu'on pourrait parler aussi bien d'un «*Artemision*». En effet, d'après ses plaques de fondation, c'est «à Artémis» qu'il fut consacré par la reine lagide Bérénice II en personne². La fouille de sauvetage d'une partie au moins du site a été menée par une équipe du Conseil Suprême des Antiquités d'Égypte réunie sous la direction de Mohamed Abd el-Maksoud et composée d'Ahmed Abd el-Fattah, Mervat Seif el-Din, Mohamed Ali, Ahmed Mousa, Amir Fahmi, Khaled Abou el-Hamd, Mahmoud Galal, Sayed Abd

¹ Abd El-Maksoud e.a. (2012). Localisation du site, fig. 2 et 3, p. 430-431.

² Plusieurs plaques sont inscrites en hiéroglyphes, et deux autres en grec, l'une dont on n'a que la moitié droite et l'autre complète mais très effacée. Leur nombre et leur caractère fragmentaire en rendront l'édition longue et difficile. Nous donnons ici une traduction préliminaire des plaques en grec: «La reine Bérénice, pour le roi / Ptolémée son frère / et époux, fils de Ptolémée / et d'Arsinoé dieux Adelphe / [et pour leurs enfants], (a consacré) le téménos à Artémis» (du mot *temenos*, ne sont lisibles que les deux lettres finales -ΟΣ).

el-Alim, Hicham Hussein, Ahmed Said, Mohamed Ragab, Anouar Abd el-Samad, Fayez Anouar, Adel Nashed, Latif Wahba. L'importance du groupe souligne l'urgence dans laquelle les archéologues ont dû travailler, ceux d'Alexandrie ayant été épaulés par des renforts venus tout exprès des inspectorats du Delta et du Sinaï. Disposant d'un mois seulement, celui de décembre 2009, pour intervenir, les archéologues ont néanmoins réussi à sauver des vestiges d'une très grande importance, tant historique qu'artistique. Les travaux archéologiques et le catalogue du matériel feront l'objet d'une publication dans les *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, y compris l'étude céramologique confiée à Amir Fahmi. L'étude de la statuaire est en cours, par Mervat Seif el-Din.

L'emprise du chantier de démolition n'a touché, dans son angle sud-ouest, que la partie nord du sanctuaire, lui-même adossé au versant sud de la colline artificielle du Paneion. La partie méridionale du *Boubasteion* est aujourd'hui recouverte par la rue Ismail Fahmi et, probablement, par le tronçon final de la voie ferrée qui la longe au sud, juste avant son entrée dans la gare centrale d'Alexandrie. L'arasement très prononcé du terrain explique que l'essentiel des trouvailles provienne d'enfouissements antiques ou de vestiges déplacés. Les plus exceptionnels d'entre eux sont les trois dépôts de statuette votives représentant des enfants ou des chats, avec parfois le nom des dédicants peint sur le socle³. Attribuable à la haute époque ptolémaïque, cet ensemble statuaire appartenait peut-être à un sanctuaire antérieur à la fondation des Evergètes mais déjà consacré à Artémis, dans l'esprit de celui de Brauron.

Non loin de là, près d'un pan isolé du mur nord du *Boubasteion*, deux stèles de pierre dure ont été retrouvées l'une à côté de l'autre. Elles portaient des inscriptions grecques, l'une d'époque ptolémaïque, l'autre d'époque impériale, d'un grand intérêt historique. La première, inscrite sur un bloc de granit rose, est la dédicace d'une statue de particulier, Mégamédès, faite par un *koinon* de soldats pendant le règne de Ptolémée IV. La seconde, gravée sur trois fragments jointifs de basalte, est la dédicace à Artémis Phosphoros, à Boubastis et à une troisième divinité, d'une statue du «seigneur Sarapammon», faite par une famille d'Alexandrins sous le règne d'Antonin le Pieux. Si la présence de cette dernière dédicace va de soi dans le sanctuaire de la déesse, celle de la base ptolémaïque est plus inattendue. Elle s'explique peut-être par le fait qu'une partie des membres du *koinon* étaient des Cyrénéens, comme Bérénice II

³ Abd El-Maksoud e.a. (2012) 433-440.

la fondatrice du *Boubasteion*, des Cyrénéens auxquels ce temple aurait servi de point de ralliement.

En tout cas, ces deux textes se révèlent extrêmement précieux par les renseignements inédits qu'ils livrent sur certains aspects de la vie associative et religieuse dans l'Alexandrie gréco-romaine. Dans le premier la présence d'un titre aulique dès le règne de Ptolémée IV pose la question de la date à laquelle fut établie la hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque. Dans le second, l'association d'Artémis et de Boubastis au «seigneur Sarapammon» pourrait selon nous être rapprochée d'un passage du *Roman d'Alexandre* concernant le «Sérapeum de Parménion», où Sarapis / Aïôn Plutonien aurait eu une *korè* pour parèdre, et d'un passage du *Panarion* d'Epiphane, selon lequel on célébrait tous les ans, dans le *Koreion* d'Alexandrie, la naissance d'Aïôn né d'une vierge. Ces rapprochements, qui nous amènent à émettre l'hypothèse que le «*Boubasteion*» ptolémaïque de Kôm el-Dikka aurait pu être le sanctuaire appelé *Koreion* à l'époque impériale, seront présentés ici en annexe.

I

Dédicace d'une statue de Mégamédès, membre des premiers amis (règne de Ptolémée IV)

L'inscription sur granit est la dédicace d'une statue de Mégamédès, haut personnage jusqu'ici inconnu de la cour d'Alexandrie à la fin du III^{ème} siècle. La datation sous Ptolémée IV est assurée par la mention des seuls «dieux Philopators», Ptolémée IV et Arsinoé III, avec leur descendance espérée par les auteurs du texte. Le titre de «membre des premiers amis» donné à Mégamédès amène à reconsidérer la date traditionnellement admise pour la création de la titulature aulique, qui passait jusqu'ici pour avoir été créée vers 200-197, dans le contexte troublé des premières années de Ptolémée V. Le fait que la dédicace soit l'œuvre de soldats d'origines diverses mais se déclarant «compagnons d'armes» (συνστρατευόμενοι) pourrait faire penser à la bataille de Raphia, livrée le 22 juin 217. Cependant l'emploi du présent et l'impossibilité de remonter aussi haut la création de la hiérarchie aulique oriente plutôt vers les temps précédant de peu l'année du décès de Ptolémée IV, en 204.

[Μ]εγαμήδην τῶν πρώτων φίλων,
τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Τραλέων [Θ]ραικῶν, καὶ τῶν παραγενομένων

[ἀπ]ὸ τῆς Λιβύης Μάσυλ[ω]ν σὺν αὐτοῖς προσκειμένων,
 [καὶ τῶ]ν Περσῶν καὶ Κυρηναί[ω]ν συν<σ>τρατευομένων,
 5 [α]]ρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὖν[οι]ας εἰς βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον
 καὶ βασίλισσαν Ἀρσινόην, θεοὺς Φιλοπάτορας,
 καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς υἱωνοὺς καὶ τὰ
 πράγματα αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ κοινόν, ἀψεγέως
 καὶ φιλοτιμίαι.

Mégamédès, des premiers amis, (a été honoré par) l'association des Trales de Thrace, des Masyles qui, venus de Libye, ont été affectés avec eux, des Perses et des Cyrénéens leurs frères d'armes, en raison de sa valeur et de sa sollicitude pour le roi Ptolémée et la reine Arsinoé, dieux Philopators, pour leurs fils et petits-fils, pour leurs affaires, et pour l'association, (car il a agi) sans avoir encouru de blâme et par amour de l'honneur.

L. 1: Le nom du dédicataire est difficile à lire. La séquence de lettres A M H paraît assurée et il n'y a de place que pour trois lettres après elle. Après l'*èta*, on distingue ce qui paraît être l'angle inférieur gauche d'un *delta* et après la cassure centrale, apparemment la haste horizontale d'un *èta* et la haste verticale droite d'un *nu*: donc –*amèdèn*, accusatif d'un anthroponyme en –*amèdès*. Avant l'*alpha*, deux hastes bien nettes, une verticale gauche et une horizontale supérieure, qui ne conviennent qu'à un *gamma* ou un *pi* (ce qui exclut déjà le nom Palamédès). La solution avec *pi* paraît exclue car il n'existe pas d'anthroponyme grec connu en –*pamèdès*. En revanche deux en –*gamèdès*, Agamédès et Mégamédès, existent. Mais Agamédès est exclu car son *alpha* initial est incompatible avec la haste supérieure horizontale précédant le gamma. Celle-ci ne peut être que celle de l'épsilon de Mégamédès.

Nous avons un moment pensé que la première ligne aurait pu être corrigée, au début du règne de Ptolémée V, par l'ajout du titre mais l'examen attentif de la pierre montre qu'il n'en est rien: si elle présente effectivement une érasure en haut, c'est par l'effet de dégradations naturelles, et l'on n'aperçoit pas de «palimpseste» du nom de Mégamédès au centre de la ligne, là où il aurait dû se trouver avant son éventuel report à gauche pour laisser de la place au titre. Cette hypothèse d'une retouche au texte sous Epiphane est d'autant moins plausible qu'elle se ferait sur un granit dur à travailler, et cela sans que le nom du souverain régnant ait lui-même été rajouté.

L. 4: Il reste l'extrémité du *nu* de [καὶ τῶ]ν. Les lettres ΣΤΡ de συνστραπευομένων sont peu lisibles et on distingue à peine TP. Il semble que le lapicide a oublié de graver le *sigma* avant de le rajouter au-dessus.

L. 5: Au centre, les traces de lettres et la longueur de l'espace coïncident mal avec la lecture *eunoia*, le dévouement aux rois associé à celui pour leurs «*pragmata*», dans *I. Philae* I, n° 13 (règne de Ptolémée VIII), mais on voit mal quel autre mot pourrait convenir.

L. 1: Le nom de Mégamédès, quoique très mutilé, paraît être la seule lecture possible. Aucun Mégamédès ne figure à ce jour dans la documentation

papyrologique. Il s'agit donc d'un nouveau venu en Egypte et particulièrement dans la hiérarchie aulique, un membre «des premiers amis» que l'on ajoutera à la liste établie par Léon Mooren. A vrai dire, il n'y a que deux Mégamédès dans le *LGPN*, tous deux Ioniens⁴. L'un est éphésien mais c'est un personnage fictif, Mégamédès, le père d'Anthia, l'héroïne des *Ephésiaques* de Xénophon d'Ephèse⁵. L'autre est un Téien, qui donne son nom à un *pyrgos*, l'équivalent téien du dème: Apollodotos, du *pyrgos* de Mégamédès, au II^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁶ Si donc le nom est rare, il fut assez prestigieux pour être ainsi utilisé par l'état-civil téien et par un auteur de roman.

La dédicace présente Mégamédès comme un «membre des premiers amis» et elle souligne son dévouement à l'égard de Ptolémée IV et de sa famille, sans citer aucun couple royal lagide autre que celui des dieux Philopators. La hiérarchie aulique existait donc déjà sous Ptolémée IV, ce qui va à l'encontre de l'hypothèse commune selon laquelle c'est au début du règne suivant, celui des dieux Epiphanes, Ptolémée V et Cléopâtre I, qu'elle aurait été instituée. Toutefois L. Mooren suggérait déjà, à propos de Philotas, que l'apparition des premiers titres pourrait être placée dès 205⁷.

Une autre solution est peut-être envisageable, celle qui ferait de τῶν πρώτων φίλων, non pas un titre aulique, mais un grade. On connaît en effet, mais après le règne de Philopator, des militaires ayant porté le titre, sinon de τῶν πρώτων φίλων, du moins de πρώτοι φίλοι, souvent en liaison avec d'autres titres eux-mêmes rattachés à l'entourage du roi: chiliarques, machaïrophores des rois⁸. Le texte le plus intéressant mentionne «les résidents dans l'Arsinoïte qui sont originaires de la cité (d'Alexandrie), *premiers amis*, chiliarques et d'autres du palais (καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ αὐλήν)»⁹. S'appuyant sur l'avis de Maria Trindl, L. Mooren pense que «ces groupes empruntent leur dénomination complète ou partielle à une classe titulaire» (c'est-à-dire à la hiérarchie

⁴ *LGPN* VA (*Coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia*) 286.

⁵ Xen. Eph., *Ephésiaques*, 1.2.5; 5.6; 10.7.10; 3.5.8. Coïncidence ou non, le roman de Xénophon développe le thème de l'association entre Artémis et Isis, à laquelle Anthia a été consacrée par Mégamédès dès sa naissance.

⁶ *CIG* 3064 = C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, Bruxelles 1900, n° 666, 29 (daté «II^{ème} s. [?] av. J.-C.»).

⁷ Mooren (1975) 200, n° 367-368. Date de Philotas, fils de Genthios «des premiers amis, chiliarque et phourarque» d'Itanos en Crète: «205-04 / 180 (rather than 180/45?)».

⁸ Mooren (1977) 34, n. 4-6.

⁹ Mooren (1975) 10, n° 2.

aulique), mais il n'applique pas ces «dénominations empruntées» aux *diadochoi* et *sômatophulakes* d'une inscription de Cyrène datée de Ptolémée VIII, lesquelles désigneraient «des groupes identiques (ayant déjà existé au début de la période ptolémaïque, avant la création, sous Epiphane, des classes titulaires»¹⁰. Il faudrait peut-être appliquer cette caractéristique aux autres groupes des «premiers amis», «chiliarques» et autres «machairophores des rois» dont les noms fleurissent bon, eux-aussi, la haute époque hellénistique (on sait que Perdikkas, l'un des plus proches amis d'Alexandre et quasi régent à sa mort, se contentait du titre de chiliarque)? Cela aurait l'avantage de faire de Mégamédès un «premier ami» au sens militaire du terme, l'un de ces officiers supérieurs que l'on ne rencontrait que dans l'entourage immédiat du souverain (περὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς, περὶ τὸ σῶμα) «dans la cité» et «à la cour». Mégamédès aurait été «l'un des premiers amis» avant que ce groupe ne donne son nom, sous Epiphane, au deuxième grade de la hiérarchie aulique.

Cette hypothèse reste toutefois assez faiblement étayée et la présentation monumentale, sur la première ligne, du titre de «Mégamédès des premiers amis» sonne plutôt comme l'affirmation d'une dignité plus prestigieuse qu'un titre militaire, même de bon rang. Il nous semble donc plus plausible que la titulature aulique date du règne de Ptolémée IV, l'inscription du *Boubasteion* devenant le plus ancien texte mentionnant l'un de ses grades, celui de τῶν πρώτων φίλων.

L. 2: La dédicace a été faite par un «*koinon*» c'est-à-dire une association de soldats ayant servi sous les ordres de Mégamédès. L'association réunit ici quatre groupes d'origine différente: l'un originaire des Balkans, les Trales de Thrace, deux originaires d'Afrique du nord, les Masyles de Libye et les Cyrénéens, et un attaché à l'Égypte, les «Perses» c'est-à-dire les descendants de Grecs installés en Égypte avant Alexandre. Elle est «réellement» pluriethnique, puisqu'il est hors de question de voir dans la mention des Trales, des Masyles et des Cyrénéens des «pseudo-ethniques» mais bien des identités «nationales»¹¹. Ensuite elle réunit les deux catégories militaires de l'armée lagide, traditionnellement séparées, celle des *misthophoroi* et celle des clérouques, ou, pour

¹⁰ Mooren (1977) 34-35.

¹¹ Sur la question ethnique dans l'armée lagide à Raphia, Fischer-Bovet & Clarysse (2012).

reprendre les anciennes distinctions de Jean Lesquier, les «réguliers», Perses et Cyrénéens, et d'autres, les Trales et les Masyles, manifestement « mercenaires » puisque leur origine étrangère est soulignée: «de Thrace» et «venus de Libye»¹². Telle quelle, cette constatation paraît infirmer l'hypothèse de Lesquier qui estimait «probable» que les *koina* «n'ont pas groupé d'autres soldats» que mercenaires¹³.

Pourtant plusieurs questions se posent: quelle était leur arme et quelle fut leur affectation? On peut tout d'abord s'étonner de voir ainsi associés réguliers et mercenaires. Polybe en effet distingue nettement, dans l'armée lagide entraînée avant Raphia, ces deux recrutements¹⁴. Par ailleurs, les mercenaires de Phoxidas sont bien qualifiés de «grecs» lors de la bataille, ce qui ne convient pas à nos combattants thraces et masyles. On pourrait aussi compter les «Trales de Thrace» au nombre des deux mille «Thraces et Galates récemment recrutés» et placés sous le commandement du Thrace Dionysios¹⁵, mais ceux-ci constituèrent, avec quatre mille *epigonoï* (fantassins), un ensemble à part, placé à Raphia entre la cavalerie d'Echékratès et les mercenaires de Phoxidas.

Ces difficultés à intégrer notre groupe dans la ligne de bataille lagide telle que la décrit Polybe, invitent à y reconnaître des cavaliers, puisque l'on connaît en revanche des hipparchies pluriethniques¹⁶. Les «Thraces», «Perses» et «Cyrénéens» peuvent être des *hippeis*, puisque, d'après le dossier des *P. Petrie* III, il existait sous Ptolémée III et IV une «hipparchie perse» (en 235) et une «hipparchie thrace»¹⁷, tandis que les cavaliers clérouques installés alors dans l'Oxyrhynchite étaient majoritairement des Cyrénéens. L'expertise libyenne en matière hippique est bien connue. A gauche de l'armée égyptienne à Raphia, Polykratès d'Argos commandait un régiment de cavalerie de 3 000 hommes associant les

¹² Clarysse & Thompson (2006) 149.

¹³ Lesquier (1911) 124-125.

¹⁴ Polybe 5.65.4 («Andromachos et Ptolémée commandaient la phalange, Phoxidas les mercenaires; la phalange comptait dans les vingt cinq mille hommes, les mercenaires dans les huit mille»). Lesquier (1911) 81: «L'ordre de bataille de Raphia, tel qu'il est connu par Polybe, assigne une place et un rôle nettement distincts dans le combat aux réguliers et aux mercenaires».

¹⁵ Id. 5.65.10.

¹⁶ *P. Tebt* I 30; 32. Sur la cavalerie lagide, Lesquier (1911) 121; Winnicki (1989) 222; Scheuble-Reiter (2012) 65-69.

¹⁷ Sur les «hipparchies à noms ethniques», Lesquier (1911) 88-90, avec renvoi à *P. Petrie* III 112 (e) et (f). Depuis lors, *CPR* XVIII, p. 80, a ajouté l'hipparchie macédonienne. Clarysse & Thompson (2006) 149, n. 135: les hipparchies ethniques sont postérieures à *P. Count* I, daté de 254-231.

700 cavaliers «du palais (περὶ τὴν αὐλήν)» à ceux «de Libye (ἀπὸ Λιβύης)» et aux «indigènes (ἐγχώριοι)», soit 2 300 hommes¹⁸. Comme W. Clarysse et D.J. Thompson l'ont montré, ces 2 300 cavaliers constituaient la cavalerie régulière des Lagides, autrement dit les *misthophoroi hippeis* et les «cavaliers clérouques». Parmi ces derniers, les Cyrénéens du nome Oxyrhynchite doivent être comptés au nombre des ἀπὸ Λιβύης de Polybe, commandés par Polykratès¹⁹. Or les Masyles de notre inscription, définis comme «venus de Libye» (παραγενομένων ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης), rappellent presque mot à mot ces mêmes ἀπὸ Λιβύης. Les cavaliers perses enfin, en tant que descendants d'immigrés installés de longue date en Egypte, n'étaient pas des mercenaires mais bien des Grecs «du pays», ἐγχώριοι, et c'est aussi avec Polykratès qu'il convient de les ranger. On se trouve donc devant une apparente aporie dans la mesure où, en imaginant les quatre groupes ethniques du *koinon* déjà réunis à Raphia, trois devaient se trouver à gauche (les Masyles, les Cyrénéens et les Perses) et un (les Trales) à droite de la ligne de bataille. Sachant qu'il est exclu de transférer les Libyens, Perses et Cyrénéens à droite, la seule solution plausible nous paraît être de classer les Trales non pas «dans toute la masse des cavaliers mercenaires», mais parmi la «cavalerie du palais (περὶ τὴν αὐλήν)». Cela s'accorderait par ailleurs assez bien avec le lieu de la dédicace, dans le *Boubasteion* d'Alexandrie, à deux pas du palais royal²⁰.

Mégamédès aurait donc été un hipparque de haut rang. Le fait que les hipparques n'aient jamais donné leur nom aux hipparchies, lesquelles se distinguaient les unes des autres par un numéro ou par un ethnique, peut expliquer que le nom de Mégamédès ne figure pas dans la liste des officiers éponymes actuellement connus. Etant donné que son régiment était multiethnique, il faudrait le compter au nombre des régiments à numéro, et pourquoi pas au premier d'entre eux, qui n'est pas attesté papyrologiquement et pourrait avoir été stationné à Alexandrie. Certes, on pourrait s'étonner qu'un hipparque, si Mégamédès en était un, portât le titre aulique très élevé de «membre des premiers amis». Mais, comme le note Léon Mooren à plusieurs occasions, tous les hipparques n'étaient

¹⁸ Polybe 5.65.5.

¹⁹ Clarysse & Thompson (2006) 152-153, qui calculent qu'en tablant sur 1 400 cavaliers stationnés dans le Fayoum (400 mercenaires et 1 000 clérouques), ont dépassé déjà la moitié des 2 300 «Libyens et indigènes».

²⁰ Launey (1950) I 83, pense que «la garnison urbaine est surtout formée de mercenaires».

pas semblables les uns aux autres²¹, et il conclut à leur propos: «Ainsi les hipparques attachés à un quartier général surclassent probablement les autres dans la hiérarchie militaire»²². Nous pensons donc, même si, là aussi, on ne saurait en apporter la preuve absolue, que Mégamédès commandait un régiment de cavalerie qui faisait autant la fierté d'Alexandrie que le font aujourd'hui à Londres les *horse-guards* de la reine, ou à Paris les gardes républicains de l'Elysée²³. A ce titre, comme Polykratès, il fut de la toute première promotion aulique à la fin du règne de Philopator.

On peut alors se demander dans quelle mesure notre *koinon* se distinguait de l'hipparchie dont il reprenait les cavaliers. Le *koinon*²⁴ est, avec le *politeuma*, l'une des deux formes d'autonomie associative les plus fréquemment rencontrées dans l'Egypte hellénistique (cités grecques non comprises), un Etat qui privilégiait d'ordinaire «les relations en théorie directes entre le souverain macédonien et ses sujets (majoritairement) non-macédoniens»²⁵. Mais leurs fonctions étaient essentiellement religieuses et culturelles, et non politiques. La composition même du *koinon* pose d'ailleurs problème. Les quatre génitifs qui complètent le nom orientent, à première vue, vers un groupement pluriethnique «*de Trales, de Masyles, de Perses et de Cyrénéens*». Il s'agirait alors d'un de ces rassemblements d'occasion étudiés par M. Launey qu'il nous suffira de citer ici:

Le fait d'avoir pris part à une campagne, parfois sous un même chef, constitue souvent le point de départ d'une association au moins temporaire; les exemples ne manquent pas de ces groupements de στρατευσάμενοι et plus copieuse est la seconde série, formée de dédicaces des anciens soldats en l'honneur de leur chef²⁶.

²¹ Mooren (1977) 122: «l'importance de tous les commandants de cavalerie n'est pas égale»; 166: «En tout cas, on peut se représenter que tous les hipparques n'ont pas la même importance».

²² *Ibid.*, p. 166.

²³ La présence d'une cavalerie de prestige dans les rues mêmes d'Alexandrie est illustrée autant par Théocrite, dont les Syracusaines manquent de peu d'être écrasées par des chevaux du roi, que par Polybe, dans l'épisode où Cléomène rencontre en ville un ami venu conduire des yearlings au palais. Colin (1995-1996) 132, parle des Libyens du palais sous les Saïtes comme d'une «garde suisse».

²⁴ *IG Alex.* 27 est une dédicace, sous Ptolémée V, du *koinon* des Lyciens faite à Ptolémaïos, archisômatophylaque, fils de Ptolemaïos, des premiers amis. Mais on interprète d'ordinaire ce «*koinon* des Lyciens» avec le groupement ethnique institutionnel de ce nom et non avec une association militaire.

²⁵ Bowman & Rathbone (1992) 109.

²⁶ Launey (1950) II 1002; 1006.

Le texte tient cependant à préciser que les Masyles n'étaient qu'«adjoints aux» Trales et que les Perses et les Cyrénéens «combattaient avec» les deux autres, ce qui orienterait plutôt vers une association plus informelle réunissant le seul «*koinon* des Trales» aux Masyles, et ce double ensemble à leurs *commilitones* perses et cyréniens. Le fait que le participe employé soit ici un présent, *συνστρατευομένων*, au lieu du plus fréquent *στρατευσαμένων*, et l'obligation de dater la dédicace de la fin du règne de Ptolémée IV, amène à s'interroger sur les raisons qui ont conduit ces quatre groupes à être réunis peu avant 204. Faut-il y voir une allusion à la répression des mouvements insurrectionnels qui se développent en Egypte à partir de 207 environ? Ou bien le mot signifie-t-il seulement que Trales, Masyles, Perses et Cyrénéens furent de simples camarades de casernement. Là encore la question nous semble difficile à résoudre et nous la soumettons telle quelle aux spécialistes de l'armée lagide.

Les Trales ont constitué l'un des groupes les plus actifs du mercenariat hellénistique²⁷. Ils apparaissent pour la première fois au temps d'Alexandre, en la personne des «3 500 Trales» envoyés par Antipater en renfort au conquérant après Arbèles²⁸, et pour la dernière lors de la campagne de Cn. Manlius Vulso contre les Galates en 189²⁹. Comme le rappelait M. Launey, deux traditions antiques s'opposent à leur propos, selon qu'elles voient en eux des Illyriens ou des Thraces³⁰ et «l'opinion la plus courante est celle de l'unité de la race, peut-être divisée géographiquement en deux tronçons»³¹. Le fait que les Trales de notre inscription soient qualifiés de «Trales de Thrace» paraît confirmer cette opinion, en attendant qu'un autre document vienne un jour faire connaître des «Trales d'Illyrie». L'inscription confirme aussi que le nom s'orthographiait bien avec un seul *lambda*, la graphie «Tralles» n'étant qu'une confusion avec la ville homonyme de Lydie³². Les «Trales de Thrace» étaient une peuplade vivant dans la haute vallée du Nestos. On ne connaissait jusqu'à ce jour aucune attestation certaine de leur activité au service des Ptolémées en Egypte même, mis

²⁷ Launey (1950) I 398-402; Dana (2014) 183.

²⁸ Diodore 17.65.1. Launey (1950) I 400, n. 1.

²⁹ Tite Live 38.21.2.

³⁰ Trales Illyriens: Tite Live (Polybe) et Etienne de Byzance (citant Théopompe). Trales Thraces: Strabon et le lexique d'Hésychius.

³¹ Launey (1950) I 399.

³² Launey (1950) I 398, n. 5: la graphie avec un seul *lambda* est de règle sur les inscriptions (Pergame et Samothrace), l'épigraphie primant ici sur la tradition manuscrite.

à part un graffiti d'Abousir, Διόφορος Διοσκόρου ΤΡΑΛ³³, dont la lecture incertaine se voit désormais validée. Mais on savait en revanche, par deux inscriptions de Samothrace, datées de 240 (Ptolémée III) et de 221³⁴, que les Trales participèrent à la défense de la Pérée de Samothrace, en liaison avec la garnison lagide de Maronée. C'est juste après ces dates que commencèrent, avec l'accession de Ptolémée IV au trône, les grands manœuvres antigonides et séleucides contre le royaume lagide, manœuvres dont Polybe nous a laissé le mémorable écho et qui amenèrent pour la défense de l'Égypte des mercenaires venus de tous les horizons. Les Trales de Thrace, qui venaient de servir Ptolémée III dans la Pérée de Samothrace, prirent donc eux aussi, en cette occasion, le chemin d'Alexandrie.

L. 3: Le deuxième groupe ethnique constituant le *koinon* est celui, plus inattendu, des «Masyles venus de Libye». A priori, il est tentant de les identifier avec les «Massyles» de la Numidie romaine³⁵, qui ont eux-mêmes été rapprochés des «Maxyes» qu'Hérodote situe dans l'actuelle Tunisie³⁶. Leur identification avec les Libyens Machaouach (*Mšwš*) des textes hiéroglyphiques est contestée puisqu'on a souvent opposé à l'équation Maxyes = *Mšwš* le fait que *ks* n'est pas *s*, et objecté que les lointains Massyles du Maghreb actuel ne pouvaient être les mêmes que les *Mšwš* proches de l'Égypte³⁷. Ce texte pourrait peut-être aller dans le sens de l'identité entre les *Mšwš* des textes pharaoniques, les Maxyes, et les Masyles, ici bel et bien qualifiés de Libyens. Le mot n'était connu jusqu'à ce jour en Égypte que sous la forme de l'anthroponyme Μάσυλλος³⁸, mais où l'on doit plutôt reconnaître un nom iduméen³⁹. Écrit avec deux

³³ SB I 5120 (dans le complexe funéraire de Sahourê). Aucun Trale n'est répertorié dans *ProsPtol X*.

³⁴ Roussel (1939).

³⁵ RE XIV (1928) 2057, s.v. 'Masaesyli'; 2166, s.v. 'Massyli' (Schwabe): Les Masesyli sont à l'ouest des Massyles, mais tous deux en Numidie, à l'ouest de la province romaine d'Afrique. Le nom des Massyles peut s'écrire avec un ou deux *s*, les variantes orthographiques étant nombreuses dans les manuscrits.

³⁶ Hérodote 4.191.

³⁷ Chamoux (1952) 55-56. Bilan dans Colin (1995-1996) 17, avec bibliographie antérieure.

³⁸ SB I 681, 61: Masullos, fils de Kosmalachos (liste du *koinon* iduméen, Memphis, II^{ème} s. av. J.-C.; Thompson (2012) 92-93). *P. Tebt.* III.2 904, 1: Masullos (correspondant officiel de la police d'Oxyrhyncha en 115 av. J.-C.). Comme pour les Trales, aucun Masyle n'est répertorié dans *ProsPtol X*.

³⁹ Colin (1995-1996) 751-753.

lambdas et non un seul comme sur notre inscription, il ne s'agirait donc pas du même nom et cet anthroponyme n'a apparemment rien à voir avec la Libye. Mais les Masyles associés au *koinon* des Trales sont bien, eux, des gens «venus de Libye», d'au-delà même de Cyrénaïque, voire de la lointaine Numidie.

L. 4: Les «Perses» n'étaient pas des «Asiatiques», comme le croyait Lesquier⁴⁰. On sait aujourd'hui que ce mot évoque, en Egypte, le temps de la domination achéménide antérieure à la conquête d'Alexandre. Avant de perdre, au III^{ème} siècle, toute connotation ethnique pour désigner une catégorie fiscale (les «*Tax-Persians*» des *P. Count.*), les «Perses» furent bien un ensemble ethnique reconnu, celui qui pouvait faire valoir une ascendance remontant aux temps de la satrapie perse⁴¹. Selon W. Clarysse et D.J. Thompson, il pourrait s'agir soit de Grecs d'Egypte déjà en poste sous l'occupation perse et passés au nouveau régime, précurseurs, donc, de certains des «tax-Hellenes», soit plus généralement de ceux ayant appartenu aux anciens établissements grecs d'Egypte et ayant déjà alors bénéficié de quelques statut spécial de la part des souverains perses⁴².

Comme nous l'avons dit, dans sa description de l'armée lagide avant Raphia, Polybe ne mentionne pas de Cyrénéens mais, en revanche, il signale deux unités dans lesquelles figurent des «Libyens». Parmi les 3 000 hommes placés sous le commandement de Polykratès d'Argos, il y avait, dit-il, des cavaliers «originaires de Libye» (ἀπὸ Λιβύης)⁴³, tandis que, dans l'infanterie lourde, Ammônios de Barka commandait à «3 000 Libyens» armés à la macédonienne⁴⁴. Pour J.K. Winnicki, les ἀπὸ Λιβύης pourraient constituer un groupe venant directement de Cyrénaïque «tandis que les Libyens pourraient faire référence à des soldats de même origine établis en Egypte et identifiés dans les papyrus par le

⁴⁰ Par ex. Lesquier (1911) 140, à propos du «Perse» de *P. Petrie* III 10, 15.

⁴¹ *ProsPtol* X, p. 229-243 (E1965-E2082). Ce sont les individus *Mdy* en démotique, *ibid.*, p. 269-270 (E2295-2308) tous connus par *P. Count.* ou autres *P. Lille Dem.* y compris les *Mdy ms n Kmy*, p. 270 (E2309-E2311). On trouve aussi un *rmt Prs*, p. 270-271, E2312.

⁴² Clarysse & Thompson (2006) 159 rappellent les diverses suggestions proposées pour leur origine. Voir aussi Clarysse (1994) 76 (descendants de Grecs installés en Egypte avant Alexandre); La'da (1994) 187 (sur le contexte militaire des «Perses»).

⁴³ Polybe 5.65.5.

⁴⁴ Polybe 5.65.8.

politicon de l'une des cités de Cyrénaïque»⁴⁵. Pour W. Clarysse et D.J. Thompson, que nous suivons, il faut compter parmi les ἀπὸ Λιβύης de Polybe les cavaliers clérouques, majoritairement Cyrénéens, installés dans l'Oxyrhynchite⁴⁶. Si Polybe regroupe en une seule catégorie tous les cavaliers ἀπὸ Λιβύης, notre inscription distingue les Masyles des Cyrénéens parce que ces deux groupes, tous deux Libyens, n'étaient pas natifs de la même région.

L. 7: La mention au pluriel des «fils» du roi et de la reine peut surprendre. Ptolémée IV et sa sœur épouse Arsinoé III sont en effet connus pour n'avoir eu qu'un seul enfant, le futur Ptolémée V, né comme on le sait par le décret de Memphis le 9 octobre 210, plus de sept ans après la bataille de Raphia. Si l'on date notre inscription des années immédiatement antérieures à 204, on pourrait être tenté de faire naître un deuxième fils au couple royal, un fils qui n'aurait pas survécu. Dans le doute, on comprendra plutôt ce pluriel à la manière de celui des «petits-fils» qui suivent. A l'époque, en effet, de la rédaction du texte, les futurs Ptolémée VI et VIII, «petits-fils» des Philopators, n'étaient évidemment pas encore nés. Ils étaient donc tout aussi «virtuels» que «les fils» du roi. La sollicitude de Mégamédès, et celle des soldats avec lui, s'adresse donc à une descendance plutôt à venir, ces loyaux sujets des dieux Philopators n'imaginant pas, à cette date, que les souverains pussent n'avoir qu'un seul descendant direct. Tout au contraire manifestent-ils un optimisme que l'avenir se chargea de démentir, pour des raisons qui tiennent à la vie sexuelle fort peu conjugale de Ptolémée IV⁴⁷, ainsi qu'à son décès prématuré.

II

Dédicace à trois divinités, dont Artémis Phosphoros et Boubastis, d'une statue du «seigneur Sarapammon», faite par des Alexandrins et leurs enfants (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 138-161 apr. J.-C.).

⁴⁵ Winnicki (2009) 453-454, n. 423 avec références.

⁴⁶ Clarysse & Thompson (2006) 153.

⁴⁷ On pense évidemment à la scène célèbre racontée, d'après Eratosthène, par Athénée, *Deipnosophistes* 7.276, où Arsinoé, «figure mélancolique de la délaissée» (A. Bouché-Leclercq) déplore les débauches de son époux aux lagynophories.

L'inscription a été découverte brisée en trois morceaux, un bloc supérieur et un bloc inférieur lui-même cassé en deux fragments, un petit à gauche et un grand à droite. Si ces deux derniers fragments se raccordent parfaitement, en revanche le raccord entre le bloc supérieur et le bloc inférieur ne se fait que par une excroissance en bas à droite du bloc supérieur vers une pointe en haut à droite du bloc inférieur. Ce raccord assure cependant qu'il ne manque que deux lignes au milieu du texte, la cinquième et la sixième disparues en partie dans la mutilation du bas du fragment supérieur et du haut du fragment inférieur. Par ailleurs toute la partie gauche des deux blocs est perdue, mais les restitutions, assurées pour les quatre premières lignes, montrent qu'il ne manque que quelques lettres.

Ces courtes lacunes n'empêchent donc pas de saisir la teneur globale du document, c'est-à-dire une dédicace en trois parties: d'abord le nom d'Antonin au génitif, qui assure que la dédicace était faite «pour l'empereur»; puis la séquence Φωσφόρῳ καὶ Βουβάσται καὶ au datif, qui indique à *qui* elle était faite, à savoir à une divinité pouvant recevoir l'épiclèse de «Porte-torche», c'est-à-dire très probablement Artémis, à «Boubastis», et à une troisième divinité au nom perdu; enfin, après une série de noms de dédicants, la fin d'un accusatif, -αντα qui précède un nouveau théonyme, le «seigneur Sarapammon», au génitif, séquence qu'il faut quasi certainement compléter en ἀνδριάντα τοῦ κυρίου Σαραπάμμωνος, «une statue du seigneur Sarapammon». Autrement dit les dédicants dont les noms sont donnés en milieu de texte ont consacré pour l'empereur à trois divinités, dont Artémis Phosphoros et Boubastis, une statue de Sarapammon. En bas de ce texte, une dernière ligne, gravée en lettres plus petites, semble avoir été ajoutée après coup mais, quoique douteuse, elle ne modifie pas le sens général du document.

Les lignes du haut, dont la restitution est assurée, comptaient une trentaine de lettres (respectivement 29, 32, 25 et 31 lettres), mais elles étaient gravées un peu plus largement qu'en bas, en raison du prestige des noms cités, et elles étaient légèrement centrées, avec un peu d'espace de part et d'autre. La première ligne comptait 29 lettres avec un *vacat* à droite correspondant à trois lettres de même module. Si elle était bien centrée avec le même espace à gauche, cela ferait un espace disponible de 35 lettres assez larges. La ligne 8, si la restitution [καὶ Αἰσ]ώπῳ est bonne, en comptait 37, assez serrées. Pour la ligne 7, on arrive au même nombre en restituant [παῖσι Ἴσ]ιάδι, et à 38 en restituant [παῖσιν Ἴσ]ιάδι. Il paraît donc difficile d'imaginer beaucoup plus que ce nombre

par ligne du bas, sauf si le *vacat* à gauche de la première ligne était un peu plus large que pour trois lettres.

- 1 [Υπερ Αὐ]τοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου
[Αιλίου] Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ
[καὶ το]ῦ σύμπαντος αὐτοῦ οἴκου
[Ἀρτέμιδι Φ]ωσφόρῳ καὶ Βουβάστει καὶ
5 [ca 20 lettres Δι]ονύσιος καὶ
[.]μείου ΦΙΛΑ . . . [.] . σὺν τοῖς
[παῖσι Ἰσ]ιάδι τῇ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδι, καὶ Δωρίωνι,
[καὶ . . .]ώπῳι, καὶ Ἀμμωνίῳι, καὶ Δωρίωνι τῶι καὶ
[. . . ἀνδρι]άντα τοῦ κυρίου Σαραπάμμωνος σὺν
10 [τῇ βάσει καὶ τη]ῖ ψηφίνῃ ὑποβάσει ἀνέθηκ[αν]
[καὶ ca 11 lettres] . . ικος ἑπαρχος σπ[είρης ὀ]

Pour l'empereur César Titus Aelius Hadrien Antonin Auguste et toute sa famille, à Artémis Phosphoros, à Boubastis et à (...), (...) Dionysios, et (...) fille d' (Hermias?...), avec leurs enfants, Isias appelée aussi Asklepias, Dôriôn, (...)ôpos, Ammônios et Dôriôn appelé aussi (...), ont consacré une statue du seigneur Sarapammon avec (sa base?) et son piédestal mosaïqué, ainsi que (...) -cus, préfet (de cohorte?).

Date: règne d'Antonin le Pieux, c'est-à-dire entre 138 et 161 ap. J.-C.

L. 1-2: Antonin ne porte pas ici le titre de «Pieux» (Εὐσεβής) qui, lorsqu'il apparaît, vient toujours en dernier dans la titulature. Or il ne reste plus d'espace disponible dans la lacune du début de la ligne 3 pour faire tenir les huit lettres de l'adjectif Εὐσεβοῦς devant [καὶ το]ῦ, un endroit où il aurait d'ailleurs été fort mal placé. Cette titulature sans Εὐσεβής était déjà attestée en Egypte à quatre occasions⁴⁸. Cette absence n'a aucune incidence sur la date puisque ces quatre attestations concernent les ans 2, 15, 18 et 21.

L. 3: La même formule se rencontre, par exemple, à Péluse pour la *domus divina* d'Hadrien⁴⁹.

L. 4: Trois théonymes au datif séparés par la conjonction καὶ se suivent, deux sur cette ligne et le troisième, perdu, au début de la ligne suivante. Le premier, disparu dans la lacune, désignait une divinité qualifiée de Phosphoros, et le deuxième n'est autre que Boubastis. Etant

⁴⁸ P. Lips. 121, 17; P. Corn. 41, 2; SB XVI 7115, 367; P. Grenf. II 46, 1.

⁴⁹ Carrez-Maratray (1999) 217, n° 394.

donné que, sur les plaques de fondation du sanctuaire, c'est «à Artémis» que Bérénice II a consacré son temple, c'est ce nom qu'il convient, selon nous, de restituer dans la lacune avant Phosphoros. Il est en effet bien connu qu'en tant que divinité lunaire Artémis partageait avec Hécate cette épithète de «Porte-torche»⁵⁰. Dans ce sanctuaire dédié par Bérénice à l'occasion probable de l'une ou l'autre de ses multiples grossesses, c'est à sa fonction de protectrice des accouchements (Locheia) qu'Artémis doit cette épiclese de Phosphoros, celle qui conduit l'enfant à naître de l'utérus à la lumière.

Après cette épithète, on lit le nom de Boubastis. Il est bien connu que, pour Hérodote, «Boubastis, en langue grecque, est Artémis»⁵¹ et «en égyptien Apollon est Hôros, Déméter est Isis, Artémis est Boubastis»⁵². Faudrait-il en conclure que «Boubastis» est ici une deuxième épiclese d'Artémis, après celle de Phosphoros? C'est peu probable. En effet, l'emploi de la conjonction de coordination καὶ plaide davantage en faveur de l'existence séparée des deux déesses, une hypothétique «Artémis Phosphoros Boubastis [Sôteira?]53. D'ailleurs P.M. Fraser, lorsqu'il recensa les huit dédicaces égyptiennes à Boubastis alors connues, remarqua que deux seulement étaient faites en association avec une autre divinité (en l'occurrence Anubis et Harmaïs) et qu'une seule portait une épithète (Boubastis *Sôteira*)⁵⁴, tandis qu'aucune n'associait Boubastis à Artémis. Il en conclut alors que: «there is no reason to suppose that in these dedications she has acquired the personality of Artemis, with whom the Greeks identified her in their own pantheon»⁵⁵. Certes les découvertes conjointes, dans le *Boubasteion* d'Alexandrie, des plaques de fondation consacrées «à Artémis» et des statuettes votives dédiées «à Boubastis», prouvent désormais que l'association existait bel et bien (montrant une fois encore, si besoin était,

⁵⁰ Sur Artémis *Phôsphoros*, Wernicke, *RE* s.v. 'Artemis', col. 1361-1362; 1384; 1401. Fraser (1977) II 329, n. 34, en particulier sur l'association d'Héraklès et d'Artémis *Phôsphoros* à Messène dans Pausanias 4.31.10. Zografou (2005).

⁵¹ Hdt 2.137 (à propos de la ville de Boubastis).

⁵² Hdt 2.156 (à propos des sanctuaires de Bouto et de Chemmis).

⁵³ Sur la difficulté à distinguer, sur les dédicaces, divinités identifiées et divinités associées, Fraser (1977) I 198.

⁵⁴ *SB* 1162.

⁵⁵ Fraser (1977) II 325, n. 12 («there is, however, no reason to suppose that in these dedications she has acquired the personality of Artemis, with whom the Greeks identified her in their own pantheon»).

les risques de l'*argumentum ex silentio*), mais elles ne vont pas jusqu'à documenter une identification complète des deux déesses.

On ne connaît toujours pas, dans l'état actuel de la documentation, de dédicace grecque adressée explicitement «à Artémis Boubastis». On sait seulement que le nom de Boubastis pouvait être employé, à l'époque romaine, comme épiclèse d'Isis et qu'elle désignait alors une protectrice des femmes enceintes et des accouchées, comme Phosphoros. Etant donné la quasi similitude des fonctions protectrices maternelles d'Artémis Phosphoros d'un côté et de Boubastis de l'autre, il peut paraître étrange que ces deux déesses aient pu faire l'objet d'une dédicace distincte, chacune sous sa propre personnalité cultuelle (et chacune avec sa statue?), alors qu'il est plus naturel de réserver aux épiclèses la tâche d'exprimer des fonctionnalités communes. Tel devait cependant être le cas, pour conserver à Artémis ses caractères grecs, et à Boubastis ses traits égyptiens.

L. 5: Les trois dernières lettres, KAI, ont été serrées en fin de ligne, au-delà de la dernière lettre de la ligne 4. Si l'on postule à peu près le même module de lettres pour ces deux lignes, il y avait une trentaine de lettres avant *καί* et donc une vingtaine avant le nom d'homme Dionysios. Le début de la lacune comportait soit une troisième épithète d'Artémis, après «*Phosphoros* et Boubastis», soit le nom d'une autre divinité honorée, soit encore τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς, la mention globale des divinités *synnaoi*. Cette dernière hypothèse est exclue, puisqu'elle occuperait la quasi-totalité de la lacune, le premier dédicant ne portant plus que le nom unique de Dionysios, chose impensable pour un notable alexandrin, de quelque statut qu'il soit.

Dans l'hypothèse de trois épiclèses, on aurait le choix, parmi les épithètes que porte Artémis dans la documentation égyptienne, entre *Enôdia* et *Sôteira*. Cependant, dans la dédicace de Coptos faite par Apollônios le dioécète⁵⁶, les deux aspects, *Phosphoros* et *Enôdia*, d'Artémis sont strictement dissociés et, comme l'observe P.M. Fraser, «there is no indication that the two aspects were linked in any one place; indeed, in the surviving evidence I observe no geographical coincidence between the two cult-titles»⁵⁷. Au contraire l'épithète *Sôteira* pouvait être portée, comme on l'a vu, par Boubastis autant que par Artémis⁵⁸.

⁵⁶ *IG Portes* 47. Sur cette célèbre inscription, en dernier lieu, Rigsby (2011).

⁵⁷ Fraser (1977) II 329, n. 33.

⁵⁸ Sur Artémis *Sôteira*, Fraser (1977) II 329-330, n. 35-36. Siebert (1966).

Mais comme nous ne retenons pas la solution de trois épicleses mais celle de trois noms divins coordonnés, c'est celui d'une troisième divinité qu'il faut chercher. Nous ne nous risquons évidemment pas à proposer catégoriquement tel ou tel nom. Remarquons seulement que l'on pourrait penser, soit à une troisième déesse protectrice des femmes, comme Létô ou Eileithyia⁵⁹, soit à telle ou telle forme d'un «dieu-fils», Apollon / Horus, entouré de ses deux sauvegardes, comme il l'était, par exemple, selon Hérodote, à Bouto, entre Létô Sôteira (ici sa nourrice et non sa mère) et Artémis.

Après ce nom et avant les 9 lettres du nom, bien lisible, de Δι]ονύσιος, il restera de la place pour un nombre incertain de lettres si l'on veut arriver aux 30 lettres de la ligne au-dessus. Le nominatif Δι]ονύσιος ne peut convenir qu'au sujet de la phrase et il était suivi de καὶ, c'est-à-dire du nom d'un autre dédicant. L'absence de patronyme au génitif après Dionysios est notable et, comme nous l'avons dit, il est quasiment exclu que le dédicant se soit présenté sous le seul nom de «Dionysios». Il pourrait s'agir de la fin d'un *alias*, ὁ καὶ Δι]ονύσιος, «un tel appelé aussi Dionysios», ou du *cognomen* grec d'un citoyen romain d'Alexandrie (e.g. «M. Publius Dionysios»). On notera le *sigma* ptolémaïque à quatre hastes, alors que le reste du texte présente des *sigmas* lunaires.

L. 6: Cette ligne a presque entièrement disparu avec la cassure de la pierre au-dessus du petit fragment inférieur gauche et au-dessus du grand fragment inférieur droit. Elle pose par conséquent de difficiles problèmes de restitution. On ne lit clairement, sur le haut du morceau de gauche, que la suite de lettres MEIO, et sur le haut du morceau de droite, les dernières lettres ΣΥΝΤΟΙΣ, ces deux séquences séparées par une dizaine de lettres. Le *mu* de MEIO était précédé d'une lettre dont il ne reste que l'apex inférieur. Après l'*omikron* on aperçoit, sur le petit fragment, la haste verticale d'une lettre qui ne peut être qu'un *iota* ou un *upsilon* (en supposant des hastes supérieures resserrées), puis les traces d'une lettre dont la forme arrondie ne descend pas autant que l'*omikron* voisin, donc apparemment un *phi*, puis, sur le grand fragment, apparemment le bas d'un *iota* suivi d'un *kappa* ou d'un *lambda* et, très effacé, *alpha*. La seule séquence possible nous paraît être –MEIOYΦΙΑΑ.

⁵⁹ L'association de trois déesses égyptiennes (par exemple Mout, Isis et Nephthys) a été rapprochée du triple uraeus que portent certaines reines lagides: Albersmeier (2002) 44-52.

Le deuxième dédicant était apparemment l'épouse de Dionysios, la fille d'un homme portant soit un nom grec terminé en *-meias* (e.g. «X fille d'Hermias, Phila-?») soit un gentilice latin suivi d'un *cognomen* grec (X fille de (Mem)mius Phila-?). Toutefois il n'est pas fréquent qu'une épouse fasse suivre son nom de celui de son père, et l'interprétation de la séquence nous échappe⁶⁰. Son nom tenait dans l'espace de huit lettres environ disponible en début de ligne.

L. 7: Après les noms des deux dédicants, venait (σὺν τοῖς) une liste de personnes dont la qualité était donnée en début de cette ligne dont il reste 30 lettres. Cette qualité tenait en quelques lettres puisqu'il faut aussi la faire suivre du début du premier nom, celui d'une femme se terminant en *-ιάς* / *-ιάδος*, le tout en six ou sept lettres, si l'on se fie au nombre de 37 lettres maximum par ligne. L'hypothèse qu'il s'agisse d'enfants nous est suggérée par le fait que les dédicants sont un couple, qu'une femme est citée en tête de liste et que le second Doriôn possède un *alias* que n'a pas le premier. Cela pourrait ainsi correspondre à une énumération par ordre d'âge, depuis une fille aînée jusqu'à un cinquième enfant, nommé Doriôn comme son frère aîné.

La première fille nommée «s'appelait aussi Asklépias». Son premier nom se terminait de la même façon, en *-ιάς* / *-ιάδος*. Or tous les noms féminins de cette catégorie sont des noms théophores, et nous n'en avons trouvé que quatre suffisamment courts pour s'insérer dans la lacune, Ἀειιάς, Ἀπιάς, Ἡλιάς et Ἰσιιάς. Nous éliminons le premier, qui n'est pas attesté avant le IV^{ème} siècle apr. J.-C., et Ἡλιάς, dont on devrait voir une trace du *lambda* avant la base du *iota*. Il semble que le reste infime de la lettre précédant l'*iota* présente davantage la courbe d'un *sigma* lunaire que la verticalité d'un *pi*, qu'on aurait par ailleurs imaginé moins éloigné du *iota*. Nous restituons donc [παῖσι Ἰσ]ιάδι, sans *nu* ephelcys-tique, qui s'accorde bien avec l'étendue probable de la lacune, la séquence ΙΣΙΙΣ occupant peu d'espace. De la même façon, au Sérapeum de Rhakôtis, un ancien bâtiment fut restauré par un père, Harpokratiôn fils de Polémôn, et ses enfants (τέκνα), Harpokratiôn et une fille dont le nom se terminait en -ριον⁶¹.

⁶⁰ Voir cependant Bernand (2001) 62-63 (= *OGIS* 83), une dédicace alexandrine faite «à Déméter, à Korè et à Dikaïosynè» par «Apollônios fils d'Ammônios, Timokion fille de Krisilaos, et leurs enfants». Nous hésitons à restituer ΦΙΑΑ ΣΥΜΒΙΟΣ, «son épouse aimée».

⁶¹ Kayser (1993) n° 45.

L. 8: La restitution [καὶ Αἰσ]ώπωι pourrait s'appuyer sur la mention, dans la traduction par Jules Valère du *roman d'Alexandre*, du sous titre «*ex Esopo graeco*». De plus les noms de Dôriôn et d'Aisôpos apparaissent déjà en milieu isiaque, dans le Sarapieion B de Délos⁶². Mais on peut aussi penser à [καὶ Καν]ώπωι, plus égyptien et alexandrin...

L. 9: Il n'y a de place à gauche que pour neuf ou dix lettres, pour faire tenir l'*alias* du second Dôriôn et le début du mot se terminant en]άντα qui est presque certainement ἀνδρι]άντα.⁶³ Nous ne pensons pas que la statue en question puisse être celle d'un particulier, «le *kyrios* Sarapammôn». L'usage du mot *andrias* pour désigner une statue divine est en effet habituel en Egypte⁶⁴. L'ostracon *P. Bingen* 84, daté de 133 apr. J.-C., trois ans après la mort d'Antinoos, est un reçu de taxes pour l'érection «de 2 statues d'Antinoos» (ἀνδριάντων β ν Ἀντινῶου)⁶⁵. Dans Clément d'Alexandrie, c'est bien le mot *andrias* qui désigne la statue de culte du Sérapeum de Rhakôtis⁶⁶. En 20-21, une «statue du grand Sarapis» (τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος) fut dédiée à Alexandrie par un certain Dionysios fils de Dôriôn, «ex-président» d'une association apolloniaque (?)⁶⁷. Peut-être s'agit-il d'un ancêtre de la même famille. Une autre dédicace alexandrine présente beaucoup de ressemblances avec la nôtre: règne d'Antonin, et dédicace à Isis d'une statue avec sa base (τὸν ἀνδριάντα σὺν τῇ βάσει ἀνέθηκε) faite par un *praefectus cohortis*⁶⁸. L'expression «le seigneur Sarapammon» rappelle également une autre inscription romaine d'Alexandrie qui mentionne un «interprète sacré du seigneur Sarapis», ἱερόφωνος τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος⁶⁹.

Le nom «Sarapammon» est le plus souvent attesté en Egypte comme anthroponyme, et cette rare attestation en tant que théonyme est évidemment du plus haut intérêt⁷⁰. Ce Sarapammon pourrait être le Sarapis qui,

⁶² Roussel (1916) n° 25, p. 100 (Dôriôn, Phila); 30, p. 103 (Aisôpos).

⁶³ Ce mot prenant déjà cinq lettres, il n'en reste que quatre ou cinq pour l'*alias*, ce qui semble exclure la présence de l'article τὸν devant ἀνδρι]άντα.

⁶⁴ Kayser (1993) 139, n. 6.

⁶⁵ Nachtergaele (2002).

⁶⁶ Clément d'Alexandrie, *Protreptique* 30.

⁶⁷ Kayser (1993) n° 46. La mention de l'association apolloniaque est restituée par Bricault (1999).

⁶⁸ Kayser (1993) n° 32.

⁶⁹ Kayser (1993) n° 44, 2 (II^{ème} ou début III^{ème} siècle).

⁷⁰ Pour une autre attestation de Sarapammon comme théonyme, voir Clarysse & Pagani (2009) 88.

selon le *Roman d'Alexandre*, trônait en parèdre d'une *korè*, dans le «Sérapeum de Parménion». Mais avant d'examiner les arguments plus précis de cette hypothèse⁷¹, on peut s'appuyer sur un indice troublant, qui est le dispositif sur lequel était posée sa statue.

Celle-ci reposait en effet sur une base elle-même installée au-dessus d'une «sous-base» (*hypobasis*) qualifiée de $\psi\eta\phi\acute{\iota}\nu\eta$. Au sens strict, le mot paraît signifier «en mosaïque»⁷², mais il est d'un emploi si rare que l'on ne saurait être sûr de cette interprétation. En fait le mot était, jusqu'ici et à notre connaissance, quasiment un *hapax*. Nous n'en connaissons qu'un seul parallèle, mais particulièrement éclairant, puisqu'il figure dans le *Roman d'Alexandre*. Dans la lettre qu'il écrit à Aristote depuis l'Inde, Alexandre déclare avoir retrouvé une stèle *psèphinë* dédiée par son *alter ego* antérieur, le *kosmokrator* Sésonchosis⁷³. Les traductions françaises envisagent un monument d'une richesse extraordinaire, serti de pierres précieuses⁷⁴. Mais le fait qu'il exista, à Alexandrie, une construction effectivement $\psi\eta\phi\acute{\iota}\nu\eta$ invite à la prudence, même si l'on ne saurait exclure que le piédestal du «seigneur Sarapammon» au *Boubasteion* fût, lui aussi, d'une qualité exceptionnelle.

Mais surtout l'analogie entre les deux attestations de l'adjectif, toutes deux d'origine alexandrine, est singulière: à notre piédestal mosaïqué du Seigneur Sarapammon répond la stèle mosaïquée qu'Alexandre déclare avoir trouvée en Inde, au terme d'une quête initiée par l'Ammon de Siwa et placée sous la protection de Sarapis, autrement dit quasiment «Sarapammon». Plus troublant encore, à l'intérieur du *Roman*, la dédicace indienne de Sésonchosis⁷⁵ vient en écho de celle gravée sur deux obélisques jadis dressés par le même roi à l'emplacement où Alexandre fit bâtir le «Sérapeum de Parménion»⁷⁶. Le fait que les deux seules attestations connues de l'adjectif $\psi\eta\phi\acute{\iota}\nu\eta$ fussent attachées, l'une au *Boubasteion* récemment retrouvé, l'autre au pharaon qui décora le sanctuaire

⁷¹ Voir ci-dessous: «le groupe divin du Boubasteion, une hypothèse...».

⁷² A partir du sens n° 4 donné par le *LSJ*, «*cube used in mosaic pavements*», en français une tessèle.

⁷³ *Roman d'Alexandre* 3.17.

⁷⁴ Pseudo-Callisthène, *Le Roman d'Alexandre. La vie et les hauts faits d'Alexandre de Macédoine*, traduit et commenté par Gilles Bounoure et Blandine Serret, Paris 1992, p. 205.

⁷⁵ *Roman d'Alexandre* 3.17: «Moi, Sésonchosis, maître du monde, j'ai fait faire ce point d'eau à l'usage des navigateurs de la mer Erythrée».

⁷⁶ *Roman d'Alexandre* 1.33.7: «Le roi d'Egypte Sésonchosis, maître du monde, fait cette offrande au dieu Sérapis, patron de tout l'univers». La dédicace de Sésonchosis ne figure que dans la Recension A et dans la version latine de Jules Valère.

appelé à devenir le «Sérapeum de Parménion», pourrait apporter un argument intéressant à l'hypothèse de l'identification des deux sanctuaires que nous proposons ci-après.

L. 11: Cette dernière ligne pose plusieurs problèmes. Ce qui est sûr, c'est qu'elle mentionnait un *praefectus* (ἐπαρχος) au nominatif, au nom se terminant en *-icus*. Aucun préfet d'Égypte n'offrant, sous Antonin, de nom en *-icus*, et comme on voit mal par ailleurs un personnage aussi important ainsi ravalé dans un «extra» de dernière ligne, on doit penser qu'il s'agit d'un préfet militaire. Les traces de lettres pourraient en effet correspondre à ἐπαρχος σπ[είρης], mais sans mention de la cohorte en question⁷⁷. Un autre problème est la fonction de ce nominatif, mais il semble qu'il ne puisse s'agir que d'un troisième sujet du verbe ἀνέθηκ[αν]. Ce sujet a, semble-t-il, été ajouté après coup: les lettres sont en effet un tiers plus petites que les autres, probablement pour tenir dans l'espace disponible.

ANNEXE: LE GROUPE DIVIN DU BOUBASTEION, UNE HYPOTHÈSE ...

Cette inscription fait connaître plusieurs divinités honorées conjointement dans l'ancien *Boubasteion* de Bérénice II sous le règne d'Antonin le pieux. Artémis Phôsphoros, Boubastis et une troisième divinité au nom perdu sont, comme propriétaires du lieu, les destinataires de la dédicace, tandis qu'une autre, «le seigneur Sarapammon», voit sa statue dressée dans le sanctuaire des trois premières. On pourrait penser que Sarapammon n'est présent à cet endroit qu'en tant que *synnaos theos* des autres, invité pourrait-on dire à «partager leur temple» au même titre que d'autres divinités, comme il arrive souvent dans le «cercle isiaque». Mais nous nous demanderons ici dans quelle mesure Sarapammon ne pourrait pas être le parèdre des deux «vierges» qu'étaient respectivement Artémis et Boubastis, constituant avec cette entité virginale le couple d'«Aiôn et Korè» ou encore «Ploutôn et Korè» connu par d'autres documents.

Le premier de ces documents est le *Roman d'Alexandre*. Dans le premier livre de ce roman, le conquérant reçoit d'Ammon, à Siwa, l'ordre de

⁷⁷ Deux cohortes sont actuellement attestées à Alexandrie sous Antonin le Pieux, la *Cohors I Ulpia Afrorum* et la *Cohors I Flavia Cilicia*.

fonder une cité à son nom, évidemment Alexandrie, «sur le trône d'Aiôn Plutonien». Après quelques recherches, Alexandre découvre l'emplacement en question: il s'agit d'un vieux temple abandonné mais qui abrite encore deux statues vénérables. L'une est le *xoanon* d'un dieu trônant, l'autre l'*agalma megiston* d'une *korè*, «la très grande statue d'une jeune fille», c'est-à-dire, manifestement, une statue de culte. Nous sommes donc dans le sanctuaire d'une divinité virginale associée à un dieu souverain. Le roman ne parlera plus de cette *korè*, dont l'identité n'est pas donnée. En revanche, dans la nuit qui suit, le dieu révèle en songe à Alexandre qui il est: il s'agit bien sûr de Sarapis. A son réveil, Alexandre ordonne que le sanctuaire soit restauré par les soins de son architecte Parménion. Les deux obélisques jadis consacrés par Sésonchosis et qui se dressaient devant ce vieux temple du *xoanon* et de la *korè* ornent désormais, dit le *Roman*, l'entrée du Sérapeum de Rhakôtis, un sanctuaire qu'il ne faut donc pas confondre avec le «Sérapeum de Parménion».

Etant donnée la nature virginale commune à la *korè* autant qu'à Artémis et à Boubastis, et au vu de l'étroite solidarité qui unit, dans le *Roman d'Alexandre*, Ammon, le donneur de l'ordre oraculaire, à Sarapis, le bénéficiaire de la fondation pieuse, on peut trouver que la découverte, dans le *Boubasteion*, d'une inscription mentionnant l'association à Artémis et à Boubastis d'un dieu appelé «le seigneur Sarapammon» prend une résonnance singulière. Autrement dit, on peut se demander si les vestiges du *Boubasteion* ne seraient pas ceux-là même du sanctuaire appelé, dans le *Roman d'Alexandre*, le Sérapeum de Parménion.

Cette hypothèse pourrait être rapprochée de ce qu'Epiphane de Salamine nous dit d'un ancien sanctuaire païen d'Alexandrie, celui d'Aiôn et de Korè:

Et tout d'abord à Alexandrie dans le *Koreion*, comme on l'appelle. C'est un très grand temple, c'est-à-dire le sanctuaire (*temenos*) de Korè. Passant toute la nuit à veiller et à jouer des airs pour la statue en chantant au son des flûtes, ils célèbrent là une fête nocturne; après le chant du coq, des porteurs de torches (*phosphoroi*) descendent dans une sorte de saint-des-saints souterrain et en extraient une statue de bois (*xoanon*) nue installée sur un brancard. Cette statue porte une sphragide d'or en forme de croix sur le front et, sur chacune des deux mains, deux autres sphragides semblables, et de même sur les deux genoux, deux autres, chacune de ces cinq sphragides étant imprimée dans l'or. Puis ils transportent cette statue et lui font faire sept fois le tour de la chapelle centrale, au son des flûtes, des tympanons et des hymnes. Enfin ils se réunissent en *kômos* pour la redescendre dans son local souterrain. Quand on leur demande quel est ce Mystère, ils

répondent en disant qu'à cette heure même, ce jour-là, la Korè, c'est-à-dire la vierge (*parthenos*) a mis au monde Aïôn⁷⁸.

Les similitudes entre le texte d'Epiphane et celui du *Roman d'Alexandre* sont frappantes. Dans les deux cas, une déesse appelée *korè* est associée à un parèdre masculin. A chaque fois celui-ci se présente sous la forme d'une vénérable statue de bois, un *xoanon*. Epiphane l'appelle «Aïôn» et lorsqu'Ammon, dans le *Roman*, veut parler du Sarapis qu'Alexandre découvrira au «Sérapeum de Parménion», il le nomme «Aïôn Plutonien». Il pourrait bien s'agir du même dieu, celui que, par son association avec Artémis et Boubastis virginales, nous identifions également avec «le seigneur Sarapammon» de notre dédicace.

Certes le texte d'Epiphane a été abondamment étudié, et dans une optique généralement éleusinienne⁷⁹. Si nous y revenons une fois encore, c'est parce que J. Yoyotte, s'interrogeant, avant même la découverte du *Boubasteion*, sur l'identité de cette *korè*, avait justement proposé de reconnaître dans la vierge et «mère célibataire» d'Aïôn, non pas Korè elle-même, la fille de Déméter, mais bien Boubastis⁸⁰. Derrière elle se cacherait donc aussi la toute hellénique Artémis, la *parthénos* qui, à Délos, aida sa mère Létô à accoucher de son frère jumeau, Apollon, sage-femme donc — à défaut de mère — virgine et, à ce titre protectrice, comme Ilithyie, de toutes les parturientes⁸¹.

En tout cas c'est bien à Artémis, parce qu'elle avait protégé la naissance des enfants royaux, et parmi eux celle du nouvel Horus/Apollon, Ptolémée IV, que Bérénice II consacra le sanctuaire⁸². Depuis les ex-votos d'enfants et de chattes «à Boubastis» et peut-être jusqu'aux dernières fêtes païennes en l'honneur d'Aïôn, l'Eternel né de la vierge, en

⁷⁸ Epiphane de Salamine, *Panarion adversus haereses* 51.22.9-10.

⁷⁹ Fraser (1977) II 336-338, n. 79: «much learning and ingenuity has been expended on this passage».

⁸⁰ Yoyotte & Chuvin (2003) 144.

⁸¹ Rappelons l'existence de la dédicace alexandrine de la collection Mimaut «à Apollon et à Korè», Bernard (1992) 71-72, censée illustrer un aspect chthonien d'Apollon associé à Perséphone. N'est-il pas beaucoup plus simple de retrouver ici le couple composé d'Apollon et d'Artémis virgine? Sur les aspects chthoniens d'Artémis Sôteira, Siebert (1966) 455-458.

⁸² C'est dans ce sens qu'il faut, selon nous, interpréter la célèbre dédicace d'Apollonios le dioécète, *IG Portes* 47, «à Apollon Hylatas, à Artémis Phôosphoros, à Artémis Enôdia, à Létô Euteknos, à Héraklès Kallinikos», Apollon, Létô et Héraklès représentant respectivement Ptolémée (futur IV), Bérénice II et Ptolémée III, et les deux Artémis pouvant évoquer les naissances réussies des deux filles de Bérénice, Arsinoé (future III) et «la petite Bérénice» du décret de Canope.

passant par la dédicace du *koinon* pour la descendance des Philopators et celle du nommé Dionysios et de son épouse «à Artémis Phosphoros, à Boubastis et à (?)», ce serait donc bien la naissance d'enfants bénis des dieux et, au-delà, la pérennité éternelle de la lignée familiale qui auraient été, plusieurs siècles durant, célébrés pieusement dans le «*Boubasteion*» d'Alexandrie.

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Fig. 1

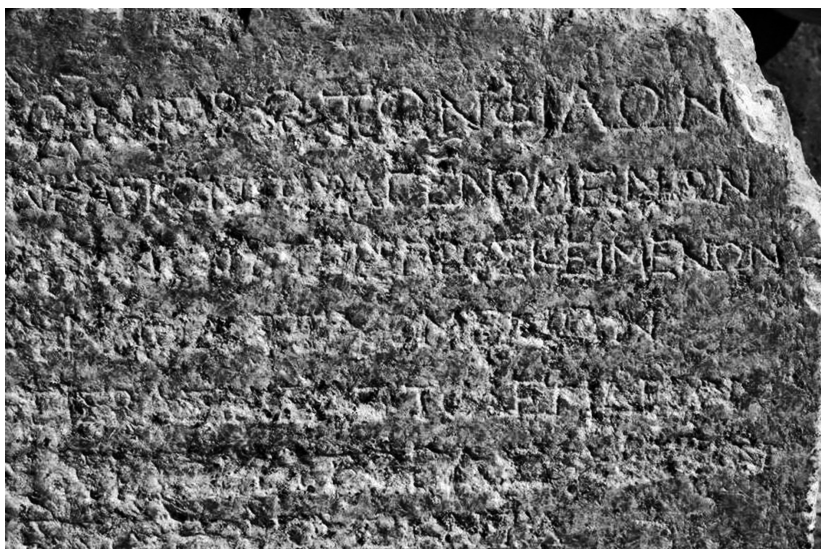


Fig. 2

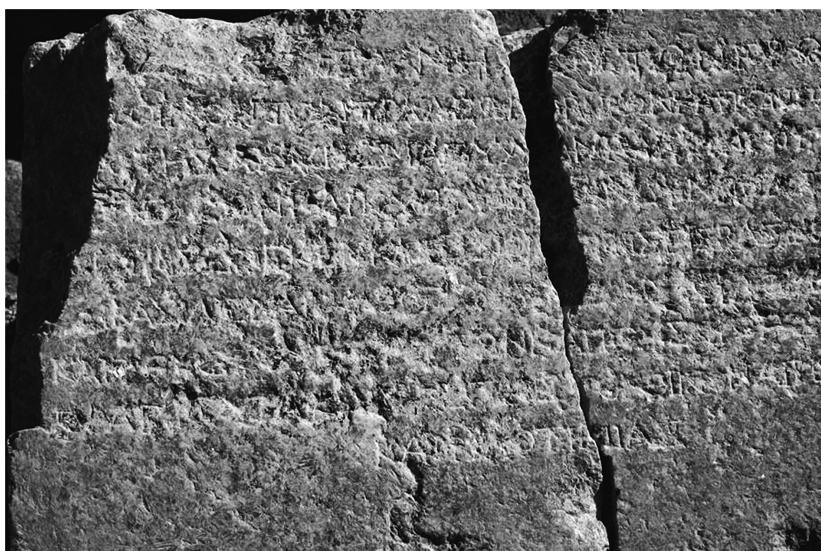


Fig. 3

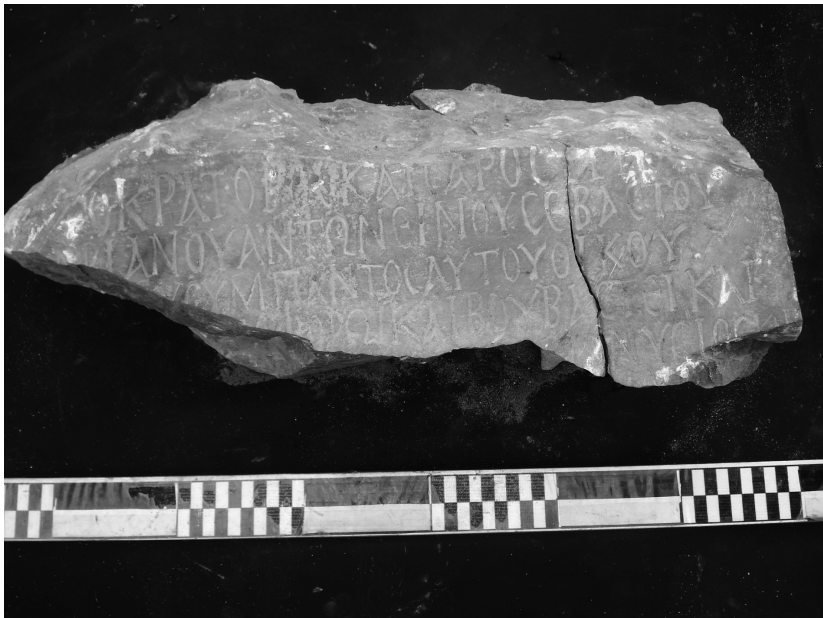


Fig. 4

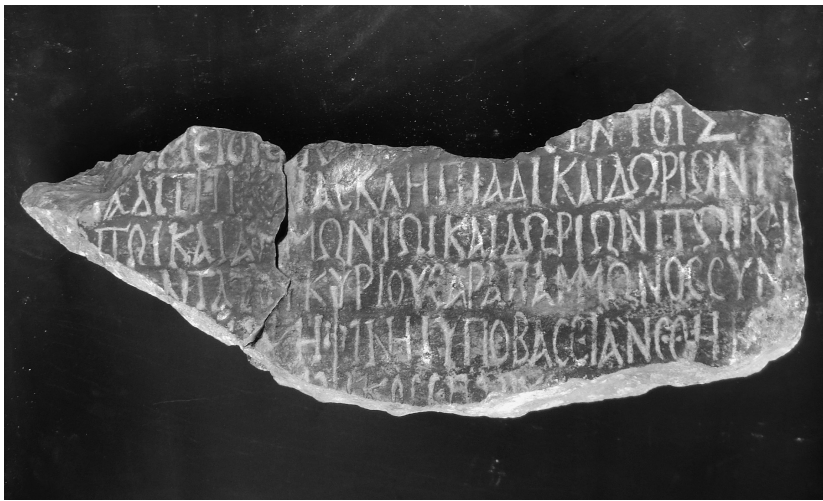


Fig. 5

FRACTIONAL RESERVE BANKING IN THE ROMAN REPUBLIC AND EMPIRE

Abstract: The banking systems of the modern world are characterised by fractional reserve banking, but that system also existed in the Roman empire. This paper examines the legal basis in Roman law for banking on fractional reserves, and refutes the notion that the practice was illegal at Rome. Secondly, the nature and economic effects of Roman fractional reserve banking are examined with reference to financial instruments, endogenous money and financial crises.

INTRODUCTION

In 2006, W.V. Harris challenged the view that the Roman money supply was inelastic and that credit money was not an important part of the monetary structure of the economy.¹ In the language of modern economics, the money supply in the Roman world was endogenous to some degree, just as in other capitalist systems, although to what extent remains a subject for debate.² A fundamental element of endogenous money systems historically has been fractional reserve banking, with the use of credit money and credit instruments. It is clear that there were banks in the Republican and Imperial period operating on fractional reserves and capable of creating debt (*nomina*) and thereby expanding the money supply when such debt instruments functioned as a means of payment and medium of exchange.³ The question of the extent and nature of fractional reserve banking at Rome is an important issue related not only to modern study of the Roman economy and money supply, but also to broader debates on the nature of ancient economies, in which the older disputes between Finley's "primitivists" and "modernists" have arguably given way to a wider debate amongst various scholars who invoke aspects of neoclassical theory, the New Institutionalism (where elements of neoclassical economics are de-emphasised), or heterodox, non-neoclassical economics.

¹ Harris (2006) 1-24. See also Rathbone & Temin (2008) 371-419. For money in the ancient world, see the review of Reden (2002) 141-174.

² Harris (2006) 7, 11.

³ See Andreau (2000) 785 and Hollander (2007) 56.

We wish to examine three issues below, as follows:

- (1) the definition of fractional reserve banking and how this applied to Roman banks;
- (2) the legal framework under which fractional reserve banking was conducted in the Roman world and to dispel some modern myths about its alleged illegality, and
- (3) the economic effects of Roman fractional reserve banking.

The discussion will be limited mainly to Rome and Italy, rather than the Greek East or Egypt and the period essentially from the late Republic to the first century AD. Although with some qualifications (as discussed in section 3), our conclusions nevertheless broadly reinforce a “modernist” position on banking in ancient Rome.

I. FRACTIONAL RESERVE BANKING

Fractional reserve banking involves the taking of money from clients and then lending a proportion of this money out at interest, while keeping part of the money as reserves.⁴ The term “deposit banking” is often applied to such a practice, although the term “deposit” can be highly misleading from the technical legal perspective. Fractional reserve banking does not involve depositing money as a strict bailment, or *depositum regulare* in Classical Roman law.⁵ The act of “deposit” is in fact to be regarded as a loan for consumption (a *mutuum*) or its equivalent: that is to say, a money loan for consumption in which the property rights to the money pass to the person receiving the money.⁶

A modern scholarly myth is that European fractional reserve banking, as it developed in the early modern period, was fundamentally invented by fraud and that in actual practice was mostly fraudulent, but there seems to be little evidence for this view.⁷ The clients of a fractional reserve bank receive a debt claim or debt instrument (or account) in return for their money which records the amount owed to them. This can

⁴ Mankiw (2009) 331-334. On the origin of European fractional reserve banking in the medieval and early modern period, see Usher (1967).

⁵ For full legal sources and literature on the *mutuum* and irregular deposit, see section II below.

⁶ Coll. 10.7.9.

⁷ Against the view that fractional reserve banking arose by fraud in the early modern period in London, see Selgin (2011).

involve time deposits (in which the money is returned on a particular date) or “demand deposits” (in which the money can be called back on demand, in whole or part, according to the contract). As noted above, the fractional reserve “deposit” or “demand deposit” is a source of confusion and potentially misleading. When fractional reserve banking creates liabilities on paper, these are the “demand deposits” or loans made to the bank by its clients or “depositors”. The clients’ accounts (or demand deposits) are debt instruments, or obligations by the bank to pay back the loan on demand. To avoid confusion in what follows, we generally refer to fractional reserve bank “deposits” as “unsealed deposits” to distinguish them from bailments, since Roman law and practice prescribed that money left unsealed or unenclosed in any bag or container was merely a *mutuum*, not a bailment.⁸

In pre-modern monetary systems such as those in the ancient world, money in the form of gold and silver coinage and bullion generally functioned as the monetary base, and the clients were repaid from the bank’s metal money reserves on hand, such money it obtained from sale of assets, or additional money obtained from more loans. The existence, then, of debt obligations by a banker on paper understood as *mutuum* loans that regularly exceed the money in coin or bullion on hand (and possibly other commodities functioning as a substitute for money) characterises the practice of fractional reserve banking.⁹

When the bank’s loans and unsealed deposits become debt instruments transferable as a means of payment and medium of exchange, to discharge other obligations or purchase commodities, the fractional reserve system is capable of expanding the money supply. This could occur through mere accounting practices whereby debts were transferred on paper between parties as a means of payment, or as in modern banking systems could involve negotiable paper instruments functioning as credit money, convertible into commodity money if desired, and exchanged by parties as payment.¹⁰ Such credit money has historically included private banknotes in modern European fractional reserve banking, but in the Roman world consisted of *nomina*, *sygraphae*, *permutationes*, and *partes*.¹¹ In the Roman world, the major type of such debt was called a *nomen* or *nomina* (the “names” of a debtor recorded by a

⁸ *Dig.* 19.2.31; Paul ap. *Coll.* 10.7.5-6.

⁹ On the structure of the money supply at Rome, see Harris (2006) 21.

¹⁰ For the broader historical origin of credit money, see Ingham (2000) 27-29.

¹¹ Hollander (2007) 39-52.

creditor) and it was possible to transfer them.¹² Thus the depositor of money in a Roman bank had his own *nomen* owed to him by the bank, and in general the debt records (*nomina*) of individuals and bankers in their accounts (*rationes* or *tabulae*) can be regarded as debt instruments which, when used as a means of payment and transferred from one party to another, functioned as credit money.

As has been noted, this internal process by which private capitalist fractional reserve banking institutions can expand the money supply is referred to in the modern literature as an “endogenous money” system.¹³ A major difference between the modern endogenous money systems of advanced economies and those of the ancient world was the lack of a central bank in the latter, so that the private banks and other credit-creating private agents were the primary source of an elastic money supply. Before the financial revolution of the 17th century, after which paper banknotes or written instruments became important, it was merely accounting entries or “book-entry money” that was the primary source of credit money in pre-modern societies, including the ancient world.¹⁴ The extent to which the money supply was endogenous in Roman Italy and the provinces in the late Republic and Empire is dependent on how much credit money banks and private agents could create in response to demand for it, and how much of this credit money was used as a medium of exchange.¹⁵ But there is no doubt that Roman banks using fractional reserves must have played a major role in this process.

¹² Cic. *Att.* 5.1.2; Cic. *De off.* 3.59; Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.17; Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.10.28. Hollander (2007) 51-52.

¹³ On the theory of endogenous money, see Wray (1990); Arestis & Sawyer (2006). On the history of endogenous money, see Copeland (1981); Courbis e.a. (1991); Chick (1991); Rochon & Rossi (2013). In particular, see Rochon & Rossi (2013) 219: “In bookkeeping terms, the creation of money is the means by which the banking system provides the economy with a number of money units that are debited and credited to the payer, respectively to the payee, who use them to exchange objects between them. This number of money units is necessarily created by banks, or by their predecessors (such as goldsmiths). This creation may of course take different physical forms depending on the technological and institutional framework, but is always an endogenous phenomenon, as it stems from the agents’ demand for a means of final payment — be it in the form of gold coins, paper money, or purely book-entry money”. Rochon & Rossi (2013) 221 further contend that central banks are not necessary for the money supply to be endogenous to some degree. Barlow (1978) 159 and 162 noted the existence of an endogenous money supply at Rome, but without using the latter terminology. Harris (2006) 7: “The traditional view is that Roman money was official coinage, hence all in a sense exogenous; I argue that we should include many (not all) recoverable loans, and hence a lot of endogenous money”.

¹⁴ Rochon & Rossi (2013) 219.

¹⁵ See Harris (2006) 7. Cf. Wray (1990) 32-34.

II. ROMAN LAW AND DEPOSIT BANKING ON FRACTIONAL RESERVES

Fractional reserve banking was legal under Roman law. Loans or unsealed deposits could be made formally or informally. J. Huerta de Soto has recently declared that fractional reserve banking was outlawed in Classical Roman law, but, as will be seen below, this is patently untrue.¹⁶

Formally, in the case of a bank operating on fractional reserves, a deposit (or loan made to the bank) and then further lending of the money deposited could be conducted through the following legal contracts:

- (1) bare *mutuum*,
- (2) *mutuum* with *stipulatio*,
- (3) *stipulatio* alone (in later law), or
- (4) the problematic *depositum irregulare*.

Although a simple *stipulatio* contract could provide the legal basis for a loan of money,¹⁷ the *mutuum* contract undoubtedly provided the most important legal framework under which Roman money lending was conducted from the late Republic.¹⁸ In such a *mutuum* loan, a real contract,¹⁹ the property rights to the money lent passed to the borrower or banker, and when the debt was due the banker returned, not necessarily the same money lent, but money of an equivalent value (a *tantundem*).²⁰ According to Paul's summary of Alfenus Varus in the *Digest*, when money was left without being enclosed or sealed up in anything (such as a box, bag or chest), it was treated as a *mutuum*, and the person who received it was obliged merely to repay a *tantundem*, an equivalent amount of money (*Dig.* 19.2.31). By contrast, money in a sealed container or bag was to be treated as a *depositum* or bailment (Paul ap. Coll. 10.7.5-6).

¹⁶ Huerta de Soto (2012) 126.

¹⁷ Crook (1984) 207-208; Barlow (1978) 56; Johnston (1999) 84; Borkowski & du Plessis (2005) 298 argue that *stipulatio* alone could provide the whole legal basis for a money loan in later Roman law.

¹⁸ Ancient sources: Gai. *Inst.* 3.90; *Dig.* 12.1.2-3. On the *mutuum* contract under Roman law generally and its relation to money loans, see Schulz (1951) 509-512; Crook (1984) 229-236 and 207-214; Sacconi (1987); Zimmermann (1990) 153-170, 177-187; Johnston (1999) 84; Borkowski & du Plessis (2005) 298; Babusiaux (2006).

¹⁹ The real contracts in Roman law included the (1) *mutuum* (loan for consumption); (2) *commodatum* (loan for use); (3) *pignus* (pledge), and (4) *depositum* (bailment for safe keeping).

²⁰ *Dig.* 16.3.25.1.

The bare *mutuum* loan, however, provided no interest. Thus the pure *mutuum* contract is perhaps to be seen as originating in gratuitous lending between friends, embedded in the social relations of the gift exchange economy.²¹ But interest and any other terms of a loan could be specified by additional *stipulatio*.²² By the time of the later jurists, this *stipulatio* was held to supersede (or novate) the *mutuum* contract, although some think the loan was understood in terms of both *mutuum* and *stipulatio* in earlier periods.²³ While a date for repayment of the loan or unsealed deposit could also be fixed by *stipulatio*, such a fixed date was not always necessary, for loans could be callable or repaid on demand. We have a document from the Murecine tablets from Pompeii of the Sulpicii bankers recording just such a loan repayable on demand.²⁴ It is also notable that, without additional *stipulatio* specifying a date for repayment, the *mutuum* loan was, strictly speaking, callable immediately.²⁵

The *mutuum* loan conducted by fractional reserve banks must be distinguished from the bailment or *depositum*, in which a thing was merely handed over for safe-keeping and returned with no property rights passing to the person holding it.²⁶ When modern scholars speak of “deposits” made to a banker, the Roman jurists would have understood the “deposit” as a loan (*mutuum*). The Romans had a quite clear legal terminology and practice to distinguish a bailment of money from a *mutuum* (or loan for consumption), and the essence of modern banking is undoubtedly *mutuum* lending at interest, not mere safekeeping.²⁷

²¹ Johnston (1999) 84; Zimmermann (1990) 155 with n. 13, and 154: “[s]trictly speaking, *mutuum* was thus a unilaterally binding, gratuitous contract”. On debt and gift exchange at Rome, see MacCormack (1985) 131-154; Dixon (1993) 451-464; Verboven (2002) 120-125; Cf. Kelly (1970) 156-163, on the origin of the *mutuum* contract.

²² Zimmermann (1990) 155.

²³ For the novation of the *mutuum* contract by *stipulatio*, see Zimmermann (1990) 155 and Buckland (1963) 463. See also Johnston (1999) 84-85; Crook (1984) 211; Andreau (1999) 98.

²⁴ *TPSulp.* 17.

²⁵ Zimmermann (1990) 156: “A loan transaction can hardly achieve its purpose if the capital has to be repaid immediately after it has been handed over by the lender to the borrower. Yet this was, strictly speaking, the case where the *mutuum* was not accompanied or reaffirmed by a stipulation. For it was the *datio* that gave rise to the obligation to repay the capital, and this obligation came into effect immediately”. de Zulueta (1953) 149.

²⁶ For the *depositum*, see Schulz (1951) 517-520; Watson (1965) 157-166; Zimmermann (1990) 205-215; Borkowski & du Plessis (2005) 301-304.

²⁷ MacLeod (1902) 318: “the very essence of ‘Banking’ is to receive money as a *Mutuum*: and to give in exchange for it Credits, Debts, Promises to pay, or Rights of action to demand an equal sum back again when they please”.

In informal terms, loans were also made by means of a simple pact (*nudum pactum*), but this could not give rise to any legal action to redress a breach of the agreement. For example, a loan with interest could be made by (1) simple *pactum* or (2) *mutuum* with additional *pactum* for the actual interest, but the terms of either pact were not able to be enforced in a court of law. Therefore in the latter case of *mutuum* with additional *pactum* for interest, the *pactum* did not give rise to an action (*actio*) to recover the interest in the event of the banker breaking his promise (and only breaking the terms of the *mutuum* were actionable). The Murecine banking tablets of the Sulpicii have now cast a great deal of light on actual banking practice in the first century AD. In these documents, we find the use of written contracts (*chirographa*), in the form of *tabulae*, and this may well have been a normal practice for lending of money.²⁸ Previous Roman legal theory placed great emphasis on the formal nature of real and verbal contracts, but this approach has perhaps blinded us to the importance and role of written agreements in credit and debt contracts at Rome.²⁹ Nevertheless, the extent to which such contracts replaced, rather than simply reinforced, the *mutuum* contract appears debateable.³⁰ If the banker went to court to sue for recovery of debt — instead of settling debt claims out of court — one must wonder whether such loans were really made only in an informal manner: most likely, the *mutuum* with *stipulatio* was still being conducted even when written contracts were made.

Another practice related to banking was the *receptum argentarii* (bankers' guarantee), an informal pact in which a banker could make payments for a client to a third party even when there was not sufficient money deposited by the client with the bank.³¹ That is to say, the bank would assume responsibility for the clients' debts, and one might see the *receptum* as a type of "overdraft" facility.³²

Matters are complicated by the question of the "irregular deposit" (*depositum irregulare*), which could have been either informal or formal

²⁸ See *TPSulp.* 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 66, and 68. On the Sulpicii archive, see Camodeca (1992) and Camodeca (1999). On the *tabulae* at Pompeii in general, see Meyer (2004) 126-134.

²⁹ See, in general, see Meyer (2004).

³⁰ An exception is *TPSulp.* 68, which, some argue, is a legally unenforceable contract.

³¹ Justinian ended this practice and made the *constitutum* the legal basis for it. See Kaser (1980) 236. On the *receptum argentarii*, see Andreau (1987) 597-602; Bürge (1987) 527-536; Andreau (1999): 43-44; Rathbone & Temin (2008) 393; Reden (2010) 121; Petrucci (2002): 57-65.

³² Rathbone & Temin (2008) 398.

in the late Republic and early empire, depending on how one sees the complicated legal history of the contract.³³ Zimmermann has called the irregular deposit “one of the most controversial institutions in the science of Roman law”.³⁴ The actual expression *depositum irregulare* was coined by the 15th-century jurist Giasone del Maino (Jason de Mayno), and it does not appear in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* or in any other Roman legal text. The question whether such a concept even existed in Classical Roman law is extremely problematic.³⁵ A range of opinions on its origin in Roman law exists, as follows:

- (1) the *depositum irregulare* was an early Byzantine invention. Under this view, any informal irregular deposit was merely regarded as a *mutuum* by the Classical jurists;³⁶
- (2) the irregular deposit was recognised by some jurists only in the second or third century AD,³⁷ including the view that it was formulated by Papinian³⁸ or perhaps emerged in the inflationary and economic crisis of the third century AD;³⁹
- (3) the *depositum irregulare* was widely known by the Classical jurists,⁴⁰ and
- (4) *depositum irregulare* was known and recognised even in the late Republic.⁴¹

In essence, the *depositum irregulare* involved a deposit of money where ownership (*dominium*) passed to the banker who was obligated

³³ Coll. 10.7.9; C. 4.34.4; C. 4.28; C. 4.30.14.1; *Dig.* 12.1.9.9; 12.1.10; 16.3.1.34; 16.3.7.2; 16.3.24 (possibly interpolated); 16.3.25.1; 16.3.26.1 (possibly interpolated); 16.3.28–29; 19.2.31; 42.6.9.2. The secondary literature is vast. A sample of the more important works includes Niemeyer (1889); Naber (1906) 59–72; Segrè (1907); Longo (1906) 121–156; Bonifacio (1948) 80–152; Schulz (1949) 254–267; Schulz (1951) 519–520; Adams (1962) 360–371; Geiger (1962); Klami (1969); Litewski (1974) 215–262; Litewski (1975) 279–315; Gordon (1982) 363–372; Visky (1983) 197; Vigneron (1984), 307–324; Bürge (1987) 555–557; Andreau (1987) 529–544; Zimmermann (1990) 217; Johnston (1999) 87; Andreau (2006) 211–213; Oudshoorn (2007) 134–141; de Ligt (2007) 21–25.

³⁴ Zimmermann (1990) 217.

³⁵ Niemeyer (1889) 110, with n. 21; Litewski (1974) 215. The era of “Classical Roman law” usually refers to the period from Augustus to the mid-3rd century AD. See Mousourakis (2007) 100.

³⁶ Naber (1906) 59–72; Longo (1906) 121–156; Schulz (1949) 254–267.

³⁷ Garnsey & Saller (1987) 55 (recognition by Antonine and Severan jurists).

³⁸ Segrè (1907) 197–234; Collinet (1912) 114–124 (formulated by Papinian with some contribution from Cervidius Scaevola).

³⁹ Visky (1983) 197.

⁴⁰ Bonifacio (1948) 80–152; Frezza (1956) 139–172.

⁴¹ Petrucci (1991) 119.

to return an equivalent amount, with or without interest.⁴² Buckland argues that there was little difference between the *depositum irregulare* and the transaction described in a passage of Ulpian in the *Digest* (12.1.9.9). Here a deposit of money was left with a person as a bailment but then by agreement was turned into a *mutuum* (a loan for consumption).⁴³

Some have argued that the Greek and Hellenistic παρακαταθήκη or παραθήκη was the origin of the Roman concept of the *depositum irregulare*.⁴⁴ Earlier scholarship on Greek law viewed the παρακαταθήκη through the lens of Roman jurisprudence, although such an approach imposes on Greek banking practice inappropriate and formalistic legal concepts imported from Rome.⁴⁵ In Greek law, παρακαταθήκη had a range of meanings. Banks at Athens not only took objects for the purposes of bailment,⁴⁶ but also accepted money “deposited” but intended as a loan and for use by the banker, which was merely repaid with an equivalent amount.⁴⁷ In Hellenistic banking, the word παρακαταθήκη, then, could be used to describe what the Romans would have called a *depositum regolare* as well as a *mutuum*. Some Greek texts even speak of a “law of deposits” (ὁ τῶν παραθηκῶν νόμος), but the significance of this, its origin and interpretation are in dispute.⁴⁸ But Greek bankers at Rome must have influenced banking practice there in terms of technical and colloquial language, and the Greek παρακαταθήκη was equated with the Latin word *depositum*, perhaps in less formal or ordinary language and thought. The later *depositum irregulare* was therefore a formal Roman legal attempt to interpret and explain the παρακαταθήκη,

⁴² C. 4.34.4. Buckland (1963) 469-470.

⁴³ Buckland (1963) 470.

⁴⁴ Frezza (1956) 139-172. Cf. Klami (1986) 99-100.

⁴⁵ Cohen (1992) 111-114. For earlier work on the παρακαταθήκη and Greek banking, see Paoli (1974) 21-22; Beauchet (1897) 333-337; Lipsius (1905-1915) 735-738; Isager & Hansen (1975) 95.

⁴⁶ Cohen (1992) 113.

⁴⁷ Simon (1965) 39-66. Cohen (1992) 113-114: “For the Athenians, funds delivered to a bank remained the property of the depositor and had to be repaid, even if the bank in seeking to generate revenues had actually suffered losses. But — absent explicit agreement to the contrary — the banker was free to use funds on deposit as he wished, subject always to a paramount fiduciary obligation to return ‘other people’s money’: not the specific coins given to him, but their equivalent value”.

⁴⁸ An early papyrus referring to this is *P. Athen.* 28 (AD 86). See also *P. Tebt.* II 556; *P. Mich.* IX 571; *P. Yadin* 17; Roth (1970); Taubenschlag (1972) 349-352; Klami (1986) 94-96; Jakab (2005) 206-207; Jakab (2009); Scheibelreiter (2010).

under the influence of Hellenistic legal thinking.⁴⁹ But precisely when this happened is a point of contention.

Our Roman legal texts related to the irregular deposit present great problems of interpretation, not least of all because it is suspected that the compilers of *Corpus Iuris Civilis* under Justinian interpolated some of the crucial texts.⁵⁰ Yet some texts cited from the earlier jurists appear to indicate rejection of the notion of an irregular deposit. Alfenus Varus (first century BC), cited at *Dig.* 19.2.31, was of the opinion that money left with someone unsealed or without being enclosed in something was not a strict *depositum*, but apparently a *mutuum* (although this is not explicitly stated), and the person who received the money only obliged to return the same amount of money (a *tantundem*). It is notable that a fragment of the jurist Paul's *Sententiae* states quite clearly that money left on deposit which the depositary had been given permission to use was considered a *mutuum*, not a *depositum*.⁵¹ This contradicts another citation of Paul's *Sententiae* at *Dig.* 16.3.29.1, where Paul supposedly said that anyone who uses deposited money with the depositor's permission will be compelled to pay interest as in other *bona fide* actions. But the *mutuum* was not a *contractus bonae fidei*,⁵² and a likely solution is that the *Digest* in its quotation of Paul here has been interpolated by Byzantine jurists.⁵³ Most probably, Paul had written that interest was due if the money had been used *without* the depositor's permission, but the interpolated text transformed this into the use of the deposited money *with* the depositor's permission to grant an action on deposit in such instances.⁵⁴

At *Dig.* 12.1.9.9, in a citation of the jurists Nerva and Proculus (both of the first century AD), we also find that money deposited but

⁴⁹ Klami (1986) 90: "Viele Geldwechsler in Rom waren hellenistischen Ursprungs, und mancher Terminus technicus wurde aus dem Griechischen übernommen ... Terminologisch werden *depositum* und *parakatatheke* weithin gleichgestellt. Es liegt deshalb nahe anzunehmen, daß das römische *depositum irreguläre* ein Ausdruck war, der unter dem Einfluß des hellenistischen Rechtsdenkens auf das lebende römische Recht entstand. Die klassischen Juristen haben zwar das geltende, dogmatische Recht dargestellt, aber die Vulgarisierung des Rechts, die schon während der klassischen Zeit begonnen hatte, hat die dogmatischen Bedenken allmählich verdrängt".

⁵⁰ de Ligt (2007) 22-23.

⁵¹ Coll. 10.7.9: *si pecuniam deposuero eaque uti tibi permisero, mutua magis uidetur quam deposita ac per hoc periculo tuo erit.*

⁵² Berger (1968) 414, s.v. *contractus bonae fidei*.

⁵³ Schulz (1949) 258-259.

⁵⁴ Schulz (1949) 258-259.

afterwards used by the depositary with the permission of the depositor is legally treated like a *mutuum*, and *Dig.* 16.3.7.2 and 42.6.9.2 (citing Ulpian) state that those with a deposit were entitled to get back their money before creditors, but not if they had received interest — which demonstrates that once interest was paid the holder of the irregular deposit was treated like an ordinary creditor.⁵⁵ If a depositor had afterwards received interest from the banker, in the event of insolvency he was now a creditor, just as if he had renounced his deposit.⁵⁶

An important text that provides the clearest evidence for the existence of an irregular deposit, certainly by the time of Justinian, is a citation of Paul at *Dig.* 16.3.26.1:⁵⁷

Lucius Titius ita cauit: “Ἐλαβον καὶ ἔχω εἰς λόγον παρακαταθήκης τὰ προγεγραμμένα τοῦ ἀργυρίου δηνάρια μύρια, καὶ πάντα ποιήσω καὶ συμφωνῶ καὶ ὁμολόγησα, ὥς προέγραπται· καὶ συνεθέμην χορηγήσαι σοι τόκον ἐκάστης μνᾶς ἐκάστου μηνὸς ὀβόλους τέσσαρας μέχρι τῆς ἀποδόσεως παντὸς τοῦ ἀργυρίου”. quaero, an usurae peti possunt. Paulus respondit eum contractum de quo quaeritur depositae pecuniae modum excedere, et ideo secundum conventionem usurae quoque actione depositi peti possunt.

Lucius Titius made the following declaration: “I have received and have on account as a deposit (*parakatatheke*) the ten thousand denarii of silver previously mentioned, and I will do everything, and I agree, and I have promised, as it has been written previously: and I have agreed to give you four oboli of interest on every mina every month, until the repayment of all the money”. I ask whether it is possible to sue for interest? Paul replied that this contract about which inquiry is being made exceeds the limit of a deposit of money, and therefore in accordance with the agreement interest can also be claimed through an action on deposit. (Paul ap. *Dig.* 16.3.26.1).

It has long been maintained that the final clause is illogical and is most probably an interpolation.⁵⁸ Here we have a “deposit” (*παρακαταθήκη*) which Lucius Titius agreed to pay interest on, and Paul’s ruling appears to be that this cannot be a *depositum regulare* for the “contract ...

⁵⁵ de Ligt (2007) 24.

⁵⁶ Ulpian ap. *Dig.* 16.3.7.2: *Quotiens foro cedunt nummularii, solet primo loco ratio haberi depositariorum, hoc est eorum qui depositas pecunias habuerunt, non quas faenore apud nummularios vel cum nummulariis vel per ipsos exercebant. et ante privilegia igitur, si bona venerint, depositariorum ratio habetur, dummodo eorum qui vel postea usuras acceperunt ratio non habeatur, quasi renuntiaverint deposito.*

⁵⁷ See also *Dig.* 16.3.28 and 16.3.29.1.

⁵⁸ Schulz (1949) 258-259.

exceeds the limit of a deposit of money". By implication, the contract must have been a *mutuum*, in view of Paul's opinion cited in Coll. 10.7.9. The interpolators added the final clause, by which they granted the contract the status of an irregular deposit (although that actual expression had not yet been invented), and an action on deposit for interest when informally promised, which agrees with *Dig.* 16.3.29.1, where such an *actio* is upheld "as in the case of other actions of good faith" (*ut in ceteris bonae fidei iudiciis*). So the doctrine we find in the *Digest* is that an action on deposit (*depositi actio*) was granted in cases of a deposit that the depositary had permission to use, either in cases where interest was promised or after default.⁵⁹

As noted above, the most sceptical view is that the *depositum irregulare* was entirely the invention of legal scholars under Justinian, and was not known in the Classical period of law.⁶⁰ But the degree of scepticism about the existence of the irregular deposit in Classical Roman law has shifted in recent years. While some of the Classical Roman jurists would appear to have dealt with Greek παρακαταθήκη banking by interpreting it as a *mutuum* loan and treating it as such,⁶¹ perhaps there was a minority opinion that anticipated the view of the Byzantine jurists. In 1984, R. Vigneron could proclaim that the mainstream view of scholarship was that the *depositum irregulare* was not recognised by the Roman jurists until the end of the Classical period at the earliest, and before this the jurists understood the phenomenon as a *mutuum*.⁶² But now a number of scholars think that the *depositum irregulare* was Classical in origin.⁶³ Yet the question whether any such irregular deposit was recognised by jurists in the late Republic must still be considered questionable.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Schulz (1949) 259.

⁶⁰ Buckland (1963) 470; Litewski (1974) 220-221. Schulz (1951) 520: "The so-called *depositum irregulare* did not exist under classical law; all texts in which we find it are interpolated. In fact that kind of *depositum* is a hybrid and entirely superfluous institution, which only leads to unnecessary difficulties"; Oudshoorn (2007) 135-136.

⁶¹ Zimmermann (1990) 218.

⁶² Vigneron (1984) 307. Vigneron argued that the *Dig.* 48.13.9.2 and 4 do not show the existence of the irregular deposit in the time of Marcus Antistius Labeo. He concludes that Roman jurists were conservative, uninterested in foreign law and did not recognise the Greek irregular deposit until well after the Classical period of Roman law (Vigneron [1984] 320-324). Cf. Gordon (1982) 363: "the preponderance of modern views favours some classical recognition [sc. of the irregular deposit]".

⁶³ Nevertheless, Evans-Jones & MacCormack (1998) 133 perhaps go too far in saying that it "used to be assumed that irregular deposit was a post-classical or Byzantine institution, but now the balance of opinion is that it was classical in origin".

⁶⁴ Andreau (1999) 40.

The evidence as reviewed above demonstrates that banks operating on fractional reserves and with callable loans/unsealed deposits must have been legal under Roman law. This is at variance with a recent view expressed by the heterodox “Austrian” school economist J. Huerta de Soto.⁶⁵ Huerta de Soto distinguishes between the *mutuum* and *depositum* contracts, but defines the *mutuum* in a manner that is inconsistent with Roman law. According to Huerta de Soto, a *mutuum* contract requires a strict time period or fixed term.⁶⁶ Such a legal understanding of the *mutuum* contract entails that unsealed demand deposits or callable loans made to the bank would have been illegal under a *mutuum* loan. Huerta de Soto further contends that under Classical Roman law the irregular deposit required that the banker never pay interest on the irregular deposit, and that the bank was obliged to keep an equivalent amount of money (which he terms misleadingly a *tantundem*) available *at all times* for the client holding such an irregular deposit.⁶⁷ Huerta de Soto’s conclusion is that fractional reserve banking was illegal during the Roman empire.⁶⁸

Yet the *mutuum* contract simply did not need to be contracted with a fixed term (or as a modern “time deposit”), and, without additional *stipulatio* specifying when the loan would be repaid, a *mutuum* could be formally called back whenever the lender asked for it.⁶⁹ It is also clear that an irregular deposit could and did pay interest under the legal principles developed in the *Digest* (16.3.26.1). Nor is there a shred of evidence that the banker taking an irregular deposit was required to keep money to the same amount available at all times to the client. Furthermore, we have seen that the full legal recognition of the irregular deposit before the late Classical period in Roman law is a subject of serious doubt. In theory,

⁶⁵ Huerta de Soto (2012) 1-57.

⁶⁶ Huerta de Soto (2012) 3-4: “a *fixed term* is an essential element in the loan or *mutuum* contract, since it establishes the time period during which the availability and ownership of the good corresponds to the borrower, as well as the moment at which he is obliged to return the *tantundem*. *Without the explicit or implicit establishment of a fixed term, the mutuum contract or loan cannot exist* [emphasis in original text]”. The Romans did not define the *mutuum* contract in this manner.

⁶⁷ Huerta de Soto (2012) 4-20, 26. This questionable view appears to be derived from Coppa Zuccari (1901) 292, cited by Huerta de Soto (2012) 16, n. 15.

⁶⁸ Huerta de Soto (2012) 126, asserts that “Roman jurists had impeccably formulated the nature of the monetary irregular deposit, basing it on the safekeeping obligation and the unlawfulness of banks’ appropriation of deposited funds. ... Also, [sc. in medieval continental Europe] the concept of irregular deposit began to return to its classical legal roots (which outlawed fractional-reserve banking)”.

⁶⁹ Zimmermann (1990) 156.

the practice of fractional reserve banking could have been conducted simply under the terms of the *mutuum*, with *stipulatio* for interest, and, as de Ligt contends, *mutuum* was probably “the standard contract for obtaining someone else’s money with a view to lending it out to third parties”.⁷⁰ It seems clear that banking on fractional reserves could also be done informally by means of a *nudum pactum*. In short, Huerta de Soto’s definition of both the *mutuum* and the irregular deposit will not stand, nor will the view that fractional reserve banking was against the principles of Roman law.

III. FRACTIONAL RESERVE BANKING AT ROME: ITS NATURE AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS

Some have denied that large-scale deposit banking existed in the Roman era,⁷¹ but fractional reserve banking must have been practised to a reasonable degree,⁷² for in the crisis of 85 BC the bankers of Ephesus were allowed ten years to repay their creditors and depositors, a situation which suggests a bank run and banks with insufficient cash reserves on hand.⁷³ Roman law was also perfectly compatible with banks operating on fractional reserves, as seen above. Bank reserves, as in pre-modern banking systems, were most probably larger than in modern times, perhaps in the order of 30% attested in medieval banks.⁷⁴ Since lending money at interest was an important activity of most banks, and there seems no reason why unsealed deposits could not have been called back on demand, we can postulate that many Roman banks must have operated on fractional reserves. The question of the actual economic effects of Roman fractional reserve banking must consider the extent of the use of banks by the elite, the role of credit money, and the stability of the financial system.

Although many higher-status Romans, and especially members of the elite, would have sought *mutuum* loans of money from their patrons or *amici*, and in terms of political *amicitia*, rather than from bankers, the extent to which the elite used banks is now a lively research topic.

⁷⁰ de Ligt (2007) 24-25.

⁷¹ Bürge (1987) 467-476.

⁷² Harris (2006) 11; Harris (2011) 236; Verboven (2009) 116-117; Reden (2007) 286-289.

⁷³ *SIG*³ 742, ll. 55-61.

⁷⁴ Harris (2008) 187.

The wealthy senatorial and equestrian classes traditionally had their money in land and lent out at interest (Hor. *AP* 421), but there is some evidence that the elite did use banks to a significant degree already in the Republic.⁷⁵ Polybius (31.27.6) informs us that Scipio Aemilianus had 1.2 million sesterces loaned to a bank, and Cicero (*De off.* 3.58-59) reports that an equestrian called Gaius Canius bought a property on credit from the Sicilian banker Pythius, whom Cicero describes as enjoying the favour of *all classes of society* — most probably because his business of lending extended even to the elite. We can note that the emperor Vespasian had a banker for a grandfather (Suet. *Vesp.* 1.2) and Augustus was accused of having an *argentarius* grandfather as well (Suet. *Aug.* 2.3). If true, these passages demonstrate that even the equestrian order did not always shun banking as a profession. If the elite also patronised banks to a much greater degree than previously thought, it follows that the economic significance of banks has also been underestimated.

While those termed the *faeneratores* were a class of moneylenders more akin to brokers and intermediaries,⁷⁶ the Roman *argentarii* are attested as bankers with diverse activities, such as money changing and unsealed deposit banking. It is possible that the *nummularii* and *coactores argentarii* could also engage in unsealed deposit banking.⁷⁷ Most banks may well have been local and based in a specific city, and so perhaps branch banking was limited.⁷⁸

Two discoveries have shed light on Roman banking in Italy: the tablet archive of L. Caecilius Iucundus and that of the Sulpicii. L. Caecilius Iucundus was a banker whose activities are partly preserved in 153 tablets involving his transactions as a *coactor* at auctions. The Sulpicii archive shows a range of activities, and especially loans. Camodeca and others argue that the Sulpicii were *argentarii*, and that they were indeed deposit bankers.⁷⁹ What has struck many scholars of the Sulpicii archive

⁷⁵ Rathbone & Temin (2008) 405-406; Harris (2008) 189-190; Silver (2011) 303-304. Cf. Andreau (1999) 46-49. Cf. Howgego (1992) 29.

⁷⁶ Verboven (2008) 211-229. Barlow (1978) 201 argues that *faeneratores* were middlemen whose capital in moneylending came from other persons.

⁷⁷ Rathbone & Temin (2008) 394-394.

⁷⁸ On the epigraphic evidence for *argentarii*, *nummularii* and *coactores*, in Italy see Andreau (1987) 315.

⁷⁹ Camodeca (1999) 187-188; Rathbone & Temin (2008) 397. For a different view, see Verboven (2003) 429-445; Verboven (2008); Andreau (1987) 519; Andreau (1999) 77-78; Andreau (2006) 212. Cf. Mrozek (2001) 42. For a useful English translation of selected Murecine documents, see Riggsby (2010) 235-252. See also Gröschler (1997).

is that dates for repayment of the loans are not often mentioned.⁸⁰ D. Jones argues that *TPSulp.* 69, 75, 94, 95, and 100 show the Sulpicii accepting funds on unsealed deposit.⁸¹ *TPSulp.* 69 (2 May 51) stands out as a record of a debt of 94,000 sesterces owed to Phosphorus Lepidianus, a slave of the emperor Claudius, perhaps made from a deposit of funds by the emperor himself.⁸² *TPSulp.* 17 requires repayment of a loan on demand, and deserves to be quoted in full:

[29 August AD 38] I, C. Novius Eunus, have written that I owe Hesy-chus Evenianus, the slave of C. Caesar Augustus Germanicus, 1130 sesterces which I received from him as a loan (*mutuum*) and shall repay them either to him or to C. Sulpicius Faustus, as soon as he demands them. And Hesy-chus Evenianus, the slave of C. Caesar Augustus Germanicus, stipulated and I, C. Novius Eunus, promised that the 1130 sesterces above mentioned were duly paid in good coin. Transacted at Puteoli. (*TPSulp.* 17).⁸³

If many of the Sulpicii loans were repayable on demand, one must ask whether the clients with unsealed deposits with the Sulpicii also had the same privilege. If this is so, since the Sulpicii must have lent their clients' money for interest to be paid, we can deduce that the Sulpicii bank operated on fractional reserves.

An increasing number of scholars argue that credit money played a larger role in the Roman economy than hitherto thought, and the best evidence has come from Roman Egypt.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the degree to which money was endogenous at Rome would have depended on the extent and depth of the use of assignable financial instruments (or debt/credit instruments). Such instruments are essentially promises to pay and recorded in the accounts of banks or in written form. In pre-1930s Western economies, private banknotes and bills of exchange were a major source of money supply expansion. The Roman world also had written and assignable financial instruments: debt instruments that could

⁸⁰ *TPSulp.* 50 does list a date for repayment. On the absence of dates in other tablets, see Rathbone & Temin (2008) 398; Johnston (1999) 86 argues that, if interest had been specified informally by *pactum* in the Sulpicii tablets, then repayment on demand was a protection for creditors. Note that *TPSulp.* 51 is direct evidence of a loan payable on demand, made by Evenus Primianus to Gaius Novius Eunus.

⁸¹ Jones (2006) 65.

⁸² Jones (2006) 65.

⁸³ Translation from Johnston (1999) 85.

⁸⁴ Mrozek (1985) 310-323; Hopkins (2002) 228; Lo Cascio (2003) 13; Foraboschi (2003) 237-238; Harris (2006) 1-24; Harris (2008) 174-207. For the evidence from Roman Egypt, see Reden (2002) 147; Bagnall & Bogaert (1975) 79-108; Bogaert (1983).

function as credit money included *nomina*, *sygraphae*, and *partes*.⁸⁵ The *sygrapha* appears to be a written contract and a debt instrument, possibly functioning like a promissory note or bond, which could even be transferred as payment to a third party to discharge one's obligations, or repayed on demand.⁸⁶ While not exactly the same as modern shares in corporations, Roman business partnership organisations (*societates*) had "shares" (*partes*) that could be sold, traded and whose value fluctuated, and perhaps even occasionally used as a means of payment.⁸⁷

We have already noted above the role of *nomina*, debt records held by Roman individuals and bankers in terms of the money owed to them under the name (*nomen*) of the debtor.⁸⁸ The *nomen* was recorded on the accounts of the creditor (*rationes* or *tabulae*) and, by association, was the debt itself. For example, in a story told by Cicero, we read of a Roman equestrian called Gaius Canius who purchased a property from Pythius, a banker from Syracuse. The crucial passage is as follows:

Incensus Canius cupiditate contendit a Pythio, ut venderet. Gravate ille primo. Quid multa? impetrat. Emit homo cupidus et locuples tanti, quanti Pythius voluit, et emit instructos. Nomina facit, negotium conficit.

Canius, aroused by greed, asked Pythius to sell [sc. the property]. At first, Pythius was reluctant. What more needs to be said? Canius secured his wish. A greedy and rich man bought it and the furnishings at the price Pythius wanted. He [Pythius] wrote/created the names (*nomina*) and completed the transaction. (Cic. *De off.* 3.59).

The expression *nomina facit* appears to mean "to make a loan" and the banker Pythius presumably allowed Canius to purchase the property on credit by creating a *nomen* (a debt owed by Canius) on his bank's books.⁸⁹ One can postulate that when *argentarii* provided credit at

⁸⁵ On these financial instruments at Rome, see Hollander (2007) 39-52; cf. Howgego (1992) 28. For the problematic *permutatio*, see Reden (2010) 112-113; and Hollander (2007) 44: "For the most part, *permutatio* seems to have been a means of moving money safely and efficiently rather than a form of 'near money' *per se*".

⁸⁶ Reden (2010) 110-112; Hollander (2007) 44-48.

⁸⁷ Malmendier (2005) 38; Hollander (2007) 48-51; Zimmermann (1990) 468. Cic. *Sec. in Verr.* 1.55.143; *P. Vat.* 12.29; *Pro Lege Man.* 2.6.

⁸⁸ For a selection of ancient sources mentioning *nomina*, see Cic. *Ad Fam.* 12.3.2; 12.31.2 16.19; 13.3.1; 13.4.2; 13.33.2; 5.1.2; 16.3.5; 16.15.2; 16.6.3. On the *nomen/nomina*, see Barlow (1978) 157-171.

⁸⁹ This translation assumes that "Pythius" is the subject of the verbs in *nomina facit*, *negotium conficit*. If the subject is Canius himself, a less likely interpretation, he must

auctions they engaged in the same type of activity.⁹⁰ If Pythius ever transferred these *nomina* (debts) owed to him by Canius to some other agent, to effect a purchase or discharge a debt, we would have credit money expanding the commodity money base as part of an endogenous money system. Though we have no evidence that Pythius' *nomina* were ever used in such a way, it is clear that other such debts were,⁹¹ and the *Digest* makes it clear how a simple sale could be effected by a credit transaction.⁹² Roman *nomina* can thus be construed, in modern terms, as assignable debt instruments and assets, which could function as a transferable instrument and means of payment to settle debt, and as a medium of exchange in transactions involving purchases of commodities.⁹³ That there were varying levels of transaction costs involved in transferring *nomina* is undoubtedly true, but Roman law provided a clear legal mechanism called *delegatio* by which a debt (*nomen*) was able to be transferred to effect a purchase or discharge another obligation.⁹⁴ Roman banks on fractional reserves must have used and transferred *nomina* and the degree to which such debts could be used as "near money" allowed an elastic money supply.

The endogenous, or elastic, nature of money supply in the Roman world raises the issue of its economic effects, as involving fractional reserve banks. Harris contends that it is not possible to know how much money was essentially in the form of callable unsealed deposits at banks — or what could be called fractional reserve *mutuum* contracts callable on demand — and we consequently have little hope of calculating the broad money supply.⁹⁵ But it seems assured that the use of credit money,

have effected the purchase by transferring his own debts (*nomina*) to the banker. On the legal nature of this transaction, see Watson (1965) 30-31.

⁹⁰ On the provision of credit by *argentarii* at auctions, see Andreau (1987) 155-161; Rauh (1989) 45-76.

⁹¹ Cato *De Agr. Orig.* 149.2; *P. Fouad* I. 45; *CIL* III.934-935. Barlow (1978) 159-160.

⁹² Pomponius ap. *Dig.* 18.1.19: *Quod vendidi non aliter fit accipientis, quam si aut pretium nobis solutum sit aut satis eo nomine factum vel etiam fidem habuerimus emptori sine ulla satisfactione.* See also *Hor. Sat.* 2.3.64-76.

⁹³ Reden (2010) 112; Hollander (2007) 51-52. See Barlow (1978) 237. For *nomina* as essentially a type of financial asset, see Harris (2007) 521; Harris (2008) 181.

⁹⁴ Barlow (1978) 161-163; Rauh (1989): 55, 65; Watson (1965) 214-219; Harris (2006) 15. It seems that *attributio* is either a synonym for *delegatio* or a less formal form of *delegatio*. See Rauh (1989) 65-66, 72-73. It should be noted that "assignability" of debt instruments should be distinguished from their full "negotiability": Munro (2003) 546.

⁹⁵ Harris (2007) 521.

and certainly as created by banks, economised on the use of gold and silver coin, and overcame what must have been the limited amount of commodity money in circulation.⁹⁶

The issue of the effects of money supply expansion in the Roman world as discussed in the modern literature frequently uses the quantity theory of money.⁹⁷ But one must note that the usefulness and validity of the quantity theory is itself open to question in modern economics, and debates between advocates of neoclassical theory and heterodox Keynesian critics should not be ignored.⁹⁸ Naïve uses of the quantity theory of money sometimes assume an economy with a stable velocity of money and no significant idle resources (including labour) available for investment or consumption, and neglect the ability of an economy to increase its capital goods, employment and aggregate level of output. More sophisticated uses of the Cambridge Cash Balance equation version of the quantity theory suggest that the demand to hold money rose in the late Republic, given that the money supply increased by a factor of somewhere between five and ten, but prices perhaps doubled.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, one must note that much remains uncertain about the use of the quantity theory and the underlying assumptions of neoclassical theory, which include the notion that money supply increases induce *direct and proportional* increases in the price level and that money itself has a long-run (and, in some neoclassical theory, even short-run) “neutrality” in its effects on real economic variables. These are all empirically questionable.¹⁰⁰

A more heterodox Keynesian perspective sees endogenous money supply meeting the demand for credit and inducing increases in an economy’s production and output, rather than merely inflation,¹⁰¹ and there seems little reason to doubt the positive benefits of elastic money supply on the Roman economy, and the banking system’s ability to facilitate

⁹⁶ Barlow (1978) 163-176.

⁹⁷ Hopkins (1980) 101-125; Hopkins (2002) 190-230; Hollander (2007) 137-144 and 153-155; Katsari (2011) 104-166, 247; Hollander (2008) 112-136.

⁹⁸ King (2002) 161-180.

⁹⁹ Hollander (2007) 153-155. The Cambridge Cash Balance equation is $M = kPY$, where M represents the quantity of money, k the demand for money, P the price level, and Y volume of all those transactions entering into the value of national income. See Thirlwall (1999) 750-753, for a critical discussion of the quantity theory. See also Flynn (1984) 383-417.

¹⁰⁰ De Grauwe & Polan (2005) 239-259; Davidson (1988) 329-337.

¹⁰¹ See Hollander (2007) 137-155. Corbier (1976/7) 504-541; Corbier (1978) 273-301.

trade, commerce, and industry, via meeting demand for money and credit.¹⁰² Indeed, Hopkins concluded that the rise in the money supply in the late Republic and noticeable lack of price inflation suggested that real output increased.¹⁰³ That Roman Italy did experience problems of unemployment is suggested by a passage in Suetonius,¹⁰⁴ and the credit money generated by the banks and financial system must have aided recovery from the disruption to economic activity caused by the crises of the late Republic and any periods of recession, if trade cycles existed in the Roman economy. In normal times, although output and productivity growth in agriculture, the major sector of the economy, was most probably low, nevertheless Roman Italy had industry and, above all, the ability to import many commodities, so that trade must have been a significant activity that required credit.¹⁰⁵

But, while endogenous money undoubtedly has beneficial effects, negative consequences should not be ignored. Since the ability to pay debts or buy goods by means of credit money depended upon the trust (*fides*) creditors had that the actual debts would be repaid, the usefulness of *nomina* must have been severely impaired in times of credit crises and uncertainty. Two other deleterious consequences of credit-creating banks include destabilising asset market speculation and financial instability.

One important difference between the Roman world and modern capitalist economies is the existence of deep and liquid financial and real asset markets in the latter.¹⁰⁶ The markets for stocks, shares, bonds and other financial instruments play a major role in modern economies, and even in the demand for money. For Keynes, the desire to hold money for use in financial asset market and commodity trades was the “speculative demand” for money.¹⁰⁷ Commodity speculation is, of course, perfectly well attested in Roman sources.¹⁰⁸ But, although

¹⁰² Cf. Holleran (2012) 45-46, on the difficulties smaller tradesmen had in accessing credit.

¹⁰³ Hopkins (1980) 109-110.

¹⁰⁴ Suet. *Vesp.* 18. Brunt (1980) 81-101.

¹⁰⁵ On the low productivity of Roman agriculture, see Hopkins (1978) 15. It is estimated that agriculture accounted for over 60% of GDP, see Zelener (2006) 304. On the trade in grain, see now Erdkamp (2005).

¹⁰⁶ On ancient capital markets, see now Fleckner (2010). For a useful perspective on financial markets in modern capitalist economies, see Davidson (2002).

¹⁰⁷ Kelton (2012) 373.

¹⁰⁸ Speculation in grain: *AE* 1925, 126; Philostr. *VA* 1.15.

debts were transferable or assignable and there is some evidence that secondary markets for debt assets (*nomina*) and shares (*partes*) existed,¹⁰⁹ it is unlikely that such markets were anywhere near as extensive, centralised or well developed as in the modern world. Above all, there was no vast stock of public debt (that is, government debt) in the Roman world, a very important type of financial asset in modern economies, which is traded alongside private assets in the primary and secondary financial asset markets.¹¹⁰

It is notable how we can find little evidence of large and destabilising asset price bubbles in the Roman world: nothing akin to the famous Dutch tulip mania, the South sea bubble, or the 1920s US stock market bubble, most probably because, firstly, financial markets lacked the necessary depth, centralisation and trading volume required for such speculation, and, secondly, credit created by the fractional reserve banks and financial system at large was not used generally for such speculative purposes. Of the two classes of assets attested as important for the upper classes — slaves and real estate — one must make an exception for the latter, and we can observe some inflated prices for town houses and estates in and around Rome in the late Republic.¹¹¹ Although actual demand for ostentatious houses and estates must also have been high for the political classes,¹¹² it is likely that the inflated property prices in the late Republic were financed by credit provided by moneylenders and banks, which was no doubt a fundamental source of the means by which the elite purchased their properties. There may well be a case that a

¹⁰⁹ On Roman shares: Cic. *Att.* 12.31.2; *In Vat.* 29; *Fam.* 13.10.2; Ulpian ap. *Dig.* 30.1.44.5: *Eum, qui chirographum legat, debitum legare, non solum tabulas argumento est venditio: nam cum chirographa veneunt, nomen venisse videtur.* See Malmendier (2005) 38; Hollander (2007) 48–51; Harris (2006) 7, 15.

¹¹⁰ Hamilton (1947) 118; Munro (2003) 505. Modern public debt was an invention of the financial revolution in 17th and 18th-century Holland and England.

¹¹¹ Plin. *HN* 36.103; Cic. *Fam.* 5.6.2; *Att.* 1.14.7. See Craver (2010) 135–158; Hollander (2007) 148; Barlow (1978) 151; Duncan-Jones (1965) 224–245; Schneider (1974) 25–36 and 178–184. Wiseman (1971) 67 points to the “grossly inflated property prices” paid by some of the richest senators in the late Republic. Rosenstein (2008) 20–21 postulates that elite Romans may well have invested a much higher proportion of their wealth in commercial ventures and urban property than previously thought. On the question of the extent of real estate inflation, perhaps too much has been read into some of the literary evidence. For example, a luxury villa at Cape Misenum sold for 75,000 sesterces c. 82 BC and for 2,500,000 sesterces some short time later (Plut. *Mar.* 34.2), but one must wonder whether the inflated price was more to do with the fact that the villa had been owned by the general Marius, rather than a general inflation of house prices of this magnitude.

¹¹² Barlow (1978) 151.

significant component of credit money was derived from debts created by elite property sales, for land was the ideal underlying security for the loan, and perhaps property was the one asset where a partial debt-financed speculative bubble did develop in the late first century BC. But the lack of evidence for other asset bubbles — especially in credit instruments and shares — strongly suggests that financial asset markets, to the extent that they existed, were not as volatile or even centralised as in modern economies, and that the credit money created by Roman banks was not diverted to such speculative activity in significant amounts. This reinforces the view that credit money at Rome generally flowed to both loans for consumption and investment in commerce, agriculture, trade and industry.

The Keynesian concept of “liquidity preference” refers to the desire to hold money or some other relatively liquid asset, for the precautionary, speculative, transactions or finance motives.¹¹³ Holding money as a hedge against uncertainty (the precautionary motive) is a modern economic concept that can undoubtedly be applied profitably to Roman monetary history, just as it also applies to banking on fractional reserves. In times of crisis and political uncertainty, coin hoarding was a significant activity, and in the late Republic the most notable periods of hoarding were 90-71 BC and 50-36 BC.¹¹⁴ One must ask whether, during these flights to coin and hard money, debts and unsealed deposits in Roman banks were called in and fractional reserve banks experienced liquidity crises, or, in modern times, bank runs. If a sufficiently large number of the unsealed deposits/loans in banks were callable on demand, then such banks faced the risk of insolvency in the event of too many demands for repayment (or withdrawals, in modern terms) in times of uncertainty, because the debt claims (or aggregate value of unsealed deposits) tended to far exceed the supply of commodity money reserves on hand.

This potential instability and the endogenous nature of Roman money supply raises the issue of credit and business (or trade) cycles. In pre-industrial societies where agriculture was a major sector of the economy, business cycles, to the extent that they can be identified, were mainly driven by variations in the weather and the influence this had on agricultural output, which then spilled over into other real

¹¹³ Kelton (2012) 372-378. For an application of these modern motives for holding money to the Roman world, see Hollander (2007) 144-153.

¹¹⁴ Crawford 1969 76-81. See also Hollander (2007) 150-151.

sectors of the economy.¹¹⁵ The fortunes of agriculture therefore strongly affected the wider economy and its level of output, and for this reason economic historians tend to speak of “agricultural cycles” in pre-modern economies. More sophisticated capitalist economies with developed financial sectors can experience shocks to real output induced by credit crises.

Evidence exists of two serious crises in the late Republic and early Imperial period: the crises of 49-47 BC and AD 33, the first induced by the threat of civil war and the second from an attempt to reinforce earlier legislation of Caesar.¹¹⁶ In 49 BC at the beginning of the civil war, a credit crisis loomed in Rome as creditors demanded repayment of debt in coin during the uncertainty caused by the civil war.¹¹⁷ When creditors demanded repayment, many debtors simply could not meet their debts, and since credit markets were frozen further lending was not possible (Dio Cass. 41.37.1). Although banks are not mentioned in our sources, one must ask how the major financial intermediaries in Roman Italy can have escaped such a crisis. Probably many banks were also affected, and one can see such banks as both stricken creditors *and* debtors in such a crisis, since banks on fractional reserves will have been overwhelmed if a sufficient number of unsealed depositors demanded repayment and in turn the bankers will have called in their own loans in response. Caesar tried to solve the crisis by a number of measures, including forbidding anyone to hold more than 60,000 sesterces in silver or gold (Dio 41.38.1), which was presumably intended to induce lending and allow credit markets to function again.¹¹⁸

The next instance is the credit crisis of AD 33, which also strongly suggests that members of the upper classes did to some extent have significant dealings with banks.¹¹⁹ At this time, many in debt who must have been property holders and of high status sold their land to repay

¹¹⁵ For an empirical study of the effect of climate on trade cycles in pre-industrial European economies, see Post (1977).

¹¹⁶ On these crises, see Andreau (1999) 103-111.

¹¹⁷ Dio. Cass. 41.37-38; Suet. *Caes.* 42.2; *Caes. BCiv.* 3.1, and 20; App. *BCiv.* 2.198; Plut. *Caes.* 37.1. See Frederiksen (1966) 128-141; Barlow (1978) 187-191.

¹¹⁸ Harris (2008) 177-178. Caesar also revived the law called by Tacitus the *lex de modo credendi et possidendi* (Frederiksen [1966] 141) whose later enforcement led to the credit crisis of AD 33.

¹¹⁹ On the crisis, see Tac. *Ann.* 6.16-17; Suet. *Tib.* 48; Dio 58.21.4-6; Cic. *Att.* 9.9.4; Frank (1935) 336-341; Bellen (1976) 217-234; Rodewald (1976) 1-17; Wolters (1987) 23-58; Andreau (1987) 238-239; Verboven (2002) 175-176; Thornton & Thornton (1990) 655-662; Duncan-Jones (1994) 23-25; Tchernia (2003) 131-146.

their debts, but the glut of land sales caused price deflation, which induced a debt deflationary crisis. The ruin of many influential persons led the emperor to implement the following measure, described by Tacitus:

... tulit opem Caesar disposito per mensas milies sestertio factaque mutuandi copia sine usuris per triennium, si debitor populo in duplum praediis cavisset.

... Caesar [sc. Tiberius] provided assistance by distributing 100 million sesterces through the banks (*mensae*), and with numerous loans to be made without interest for three years, if a debtor could provide security to the public with landed property twice the value.¹²⁰ (Tac. *Ann.* 6.17.3).

The detail that the money was indirectly lent *through banks* (*per mensas*) is telling. This would suggest that the money provided to bankers was then relent to each bank's debtors so that they could in turn repay their loans to the bank. A further conclusion that we can draw from this is that many members of the Roman elite at this time *did* in fact have dealings with banks, despite the scepticism of some modern scholars on this point. But one must wonder whether the creditors/depositors of the banks had themselves demanded repayment of loans during the crisis: this would explain why the creditors (including bankers) demanded repayment of their loans in full (*sed creditores in solidum appellabant*). That Tiberius dispersed the money to the banks leads to the conclusion that this policy action was to stabilise a crisis that affected the banks just as much as the elite.

CONCLUSION

Roman banks that accepted money from clients to be lent out at interest, but repayable on demand, would be analogous to modern "demand deposit" banks. Under Roman law, the bare *mutuum*, *mutuum* with additional *stipulatio*, *stipulatio* novating a *mutuum*, and the *depositum irregulare* provided the formal legal concepts under which banks could accept unsealed deposits for further loaning at interest. In informal

¹²⁰ Harris (2008) 188-189, points out that the Tacitus merely refers to "banks", not "specially established" or "temporary" banks. On this question, cf. Andreau (1987) 238; Verboven (2009) 118, n. 126.

terms, a *pactum* or *mutuum* with additional *pactum* could be used. In Republican and early Imperial times in the colloquial and informal, non-technical language of bankers and their clients, money was presumably accepted by bankers and called a “deposit” (*depositum*) by both parties, with ownership passing to the bank, and with the banker then lending the money out to obtain a return for his client, and returning a *tantundem*. But most, and perhaps all, Roman jurists of these times rejected the idea that such contracts were really “deposits” (*deposita*) and they insisted that they were really *mutua* (loans for consumption). But even so “deposit” banking operating on fractional reserves in the late Republic and early Empire had a sound legal basis in the *mutuum* and *stipulatio*. Money under regular *depositum* (or bailment) which was afterwards transferred to the bank or depositee as his property, to lend out and returned merely as a *tantundem*, was also treated as a *mutuum* by many Classical jurists.¹²¹ Even if the *depositum irregulare* was recognised by some late Classical jurists, it was in many respects like the *mutuum* loan, and the later jurists increasingly came to interpret “deposit” banking practice with this new, distinct legal concept.¹²² In legal and functional terms, the difference between *mutuum* and *depositum irregulare* was minimal, however.¹²³ The idea that fractional reserve banking was illegal at Rome is entirely erroneous, for the *mutuum* contract did not require a strict time period or fixed term, and the irregular deposit often earned interest.

A reassessment of the nature of Roman banking in recent years has stressed the importance of the elite use of banks and the productive nature of the endogenous money system that must have characterised the Roman economy. There is little evidence of the type of large, destabilising asset bubbles seen in modern economic history. Nevertheless, the Roman economy has not been free from the potential instability of fractional reserve banking: both the attested credit crises of 49 BC and AD 33 prompted government

¹²¹ Oudshoorn (2007) 136.

¹²² See the recent assessment of de Ligt (2007) 25: “the long debate concerning the recognition of irregular deposits in classical Roman law may well be a red herring for the economic historian”.

¹²³ Zimmermann (1990) 216; Verboven (2002) 133: “... from a legal point of view the distinction between a *depositum irregulare* and a *mutuum* was in any case slight. It seems to have been meaningful only to distinguish between money deposited with a banker or a procurator for administration purposes, i.e. for the benefit of its original owner, on the one hand, and money lent to a debtor for his personal purposes on the other”. Watson (1998) 29; Melville (1915) 345.

action to stabilise the credit markets, and, most probably, the banking system. We conclude that issues related to fractional reserve banking and endogenous money at Rome will be important topics for future research.

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THREE GREAT KILLERS

INFECTIOUS DISEASES AND PATTERNS OF MORTALITY IN IMPERIAL ROME*

Abstract: This article analyses the way in which three major diseases that were prevalent in Imperial Rome structured mortality patterns. It is generally agreed that malaria, tuberculosis and typhoid fever were three great killers in Rome, but it is also clear that they differed from each other in major respects. Both characteristics make them particularly good objects for studying how infectious diseases structured mortality patterns. Discussions of mortality are often confined to statements that the mortality peak in the summer was caused by infectious diseases, or that mortality was caused by bad sanitation, or that immigrants were at a disadvantage due to lack of immunity, or that diseases were great levellers that operated independent of status, or that the spread of diseases depended primarily on population density. Such statements are not necessarily incorrect, but the analysis shows that it is possible to move beyond these crude generalisations and produce a more complex understanding of mortality patterns.

INTRODUCTION

In this article we analyse the way in which three major diseases that were prevalent in Imperial Rome structured mortality patterns. In the absence of adequate ancient demographic data Roman demographers have generally employed model life tables to describe Roman mortality patterns. These model life tables tabulate the age-specific incidence of death at different levels of mortality. The models that are normally employed are those developed by Coale and Demeny, which tabulate mortality patterns for a range of different life expectancies.¹ The models used to describe the Roman populations belong to the very beginning of the spectrum: normally the so-called Model West 3 with a life expectancy at birth of 25 years is employed.²

The model life tables were introduced into ancient history some fifty years ago by Keith Hopkins³ and have revolutionised the understanding

* Our thanks to Miriam Groen-Vallinga, Saskia Hin and two anonymous referees for helpful comments and to Marianne Oort for improving our English.

¹ Coale & Demeny (1983); United Nations (1983).

² Scobie (1986) 399; Frier (1982) 213.

³ Hopkins (1966).

of ancient demography. Many ancient historians have used them and explored their implications, although with differing degrees of enthusiasm.⁴ At the same time it has become increasingly clear that there are also important limits to the use of these models.⁵ One major characteristic of the models is their generic character: they provide generalised patterns of mortality, extrapolated from other, better-known historical populations. It is precisely this general character that legitimises their application to the ancient world. But the question remains to what extent these average mortality patterns accurately describe Roman realities. The model life tables are good to think with and help to delineate the limits of the plausible, but they are bound to remain paper constructs.⁶

One way to obtain a better understanding of mortality patterns is through the study of disease. The levels of high mortality that were prevalent in the Roman world are generally believed to have been caused by infectious diseases. In the absence of adequate medicine, populations were relatively unprotected from whatever disease came around. Of course, there were other causes of death, such as warfare, famine and natural disasters, but these were of a more episodic nature. Infectious diseases structured the basic patterns.

The city of Rome is a particular good starting point to study the effects of diseases. It is generally assumed that Rome had a level of mortality that even by Roman standards was high.⁷ Several factors are thought to have been conducive to the rapid spread of diseases. As is well known, the city had a very large population, estimated at 800,000 to 1 million inhabitants during the reign of Augustus.⁸ The constant influx of new immigrants imported new diseases into the city and these immigrants themselves were probably not immune to the many diseases that were endemic to the city.⁹ It was densely populated, with the mass of the free population living in cramped conditions in small cells in *insulae* of up to

⁴ Key studies include Parkin (1992); Bagnall & Frier (1994); and numerous studies by Scheidel, e.g. Scheidel (1996).

⁵ Sallares (1991); Scheidel (2001a); Woods (2007); van der Linde (2008). The much more optimistic assessment of Roman living conditions of Kron (2012) raises in an acute form the question which comparative evidence is regarded as appropriate comparandum.

⁶ Scheidel (2001a) 26; Hin (2013) 109-123.

⁷ See Scheidel (2003) for discussion.

⁸ Hopkins (1978) 98; Frier (2000) 787; Jongman (2003) 100; Scheidel (2001a) 1.

⁹ Scheidel (2013). Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2.93 for a vignette from the time of Vitellius: an army of Gauls and Germans, camped in the unhealthy Vatican area, dying in great numbers, and worsening their condition by drinking water from the Tiber. They are new to the city and unaccustomed to the climate and the heat.

five stories and many of its slaves living in makeshift lodgings in the *domus* of the elite. Furthermore, it is often thought that the rather unhygienic conditions that prevailed in the public baths and other sanitary facilities contributed to the rapid spread of disease.¹⁰ Frequent flooding of the Tiber,¹¹ and the location of the city in a rather humid ecological environment, did not impede spread of disease.

In order to obtain a better grip on the mortality of the city of Rome, an important approach has been to study seasonal variation.¹² Although the *ages* recorded on epitaphs are notorious for their biases, other data on the epitaphs offer the possibility to study variations in seasonal mortality. The epitaphs of late Imperial Rome often give exact information on the month and day of death — important information for the Christians who wrote them.¹³ Studies of these epitaphs show that a large variation in mortality occurred over the year, with high peaks at the end of summer: in the months July to October mortality was 73% higher than in the remainder of the year.¹⁴ Such a pattern is likely to have occurred in the city of Rome in the early imperial period as well.¹⁵ However, notwithstanding the importance of the study of seasonal mortality, it has been difficult to proceed from there. The peaks in mortality during the later summer are thought to have been produced by infectious diseases.¹⁶ But to correlate the variation in mortality with the actual occurrence of particular diseases has proven elusive.¹⁷

In this article, we take a somewhat different approach: rather than studying seasonal mortality we start from the diseases themselves.¹⁸ We move from the known general characteristics of the diseases to the unknown Roman mortality structure. We analyse the way in which three

¹⁰ An argument made famous by Scobie (1986). See Morley (2005), Jansen (2011) and Kron (2012) for further discussion with bibliography.

¹¹ Aldrete (2007).

¹² Shaw (1996) 100. For general background, see Scheidel (2001b) xxi-xxviii.

¹³ Scheidel (1994) 152; Shaw (1996) 102-103.

¹⁴ Scheidel (2013) points out that the pattern is consistent for all age-groups, with the exception of the elderly.

¹⁵ Frier (2000) 792; Scheidel (1994) 151. See also Shaw (2006) 93-101 with Hin (2013) 103-104 for a small dataset of the Late Republic that may conform to the later pattern; for these *Olle di San Cesareo* see now Friggeri e.a. (2012) 247-252 with further refs. Cf. further Hor. *Epist.* 1.7.8-9.

¹⁶ Frier (2000) 792; Scheidel (1994) 154.

¹⁷ Cf. Scheidel (1994) 155-157; Shaw (1996) 131-134 and Scheidel (2003) 162-163. For Roman Egypt, see Scheidel (2001b), in particular 109-117.

¹⁸ Cf. Scheidel (2003).

particular diseases might have structured mortality in Rome under the early Empire. It is generally agreed that malaria, tuberculosis and typhoid fever were three great killers in Rome,¹⁹ but it is also clear that they differed from each other in major respects. Both characteristics make them particularly good objects for studying how infectious diseases structured mortality patterns. Certainly these three were by no means the only infectious diseases that prevailed in Rome. However, with regard to other diseases there is either no widely supported consensus that they were present (smallpox²⁰, syphilis, measles, leprosy) or they can be caused by a vast number of different pathogens (gastroenteritis and pneumonia), instead of just one species or a single set of subspecies. To study the way in which malaria, tuberculosis and typhoid structured mortality patterns, we ask the following questions. To what extent were infections lethal? Did they affect all the inhabitants of Rome in the same measure? Were there variations according to age, sex and socio-economic background? Were they epidemic, endemic or both? Analysis of such questions will not lead to a quantitative outcome, but rather to a qualitative conclusion, producing a more nuanced understanding of mortality in Rome that can be of help in producing more complex demographic models.

1. DISEASE: ANCIENT AND MODERN

The question how infectious diseases structured mortality in Rome is a modern one. The idea that diseases were caused by infections did not exist in antiquity. In itself the contagious nature of some diseases was known, but this did not lead to a more abstract notion of infection.²¹ It was only in the nineteenth century with the widespread use of microscopic techniques that the germ theory could gain ground; the new idea being that many diseases are caused by infection with micro-organisms. By contrast, in the ancient world (and for long periods afterwards) the idea prevailed that in the case of disease the body itself was out of balance: it contained too much or too little of one of the *humores*.²²

¹⁹ Scheidel (1994) 156; Shaw (1996) 133; Frier (2000) 793; Morley (2005) 195.

²⁰ Although smallpox is often mentioned as the cause of the Antonine Plague of AD 165. See Rijkels (2005), in particular 22-76.

²¹ Nutton (1983) 1.

²² Morley (2005) 199.

Although external factors were sometimes taken into account, the causes for a disease were mainly thought to be internal: a disease was regarded as a deviation from the normal healthy state of the body, rather than caused by an ontological entity outside of it.²³ Consequently, ancient medicine was directed towards the individual; the emphasis was on personal treatment and adjusting living habits to prevent disease. There certainly was no public health care to prevent the spread of infectious diseases.²⁴

Given the differences in ancient and modern conceptualisations of diseases, it is clear that the identification of infectious diseases in ancient medical texts is not without problems.²⁵ Retrospective diagnosis remains a hazardous affair.²⁶ The problems can partly be alleviated by studying other types of sources, such as DNA-analysis of ancient skeletons.²⁷ The study can also be supplemented with comparative material from different periods. Notwithstanding this additional material, it is hardly surprising that a great deal of scholarly discussion has been devoted to issues of identification. We have selected three infectious diseases whose occurrence is relatively uncontroversial, but as will become clear, even in their case uncertainties remain.

As there are many different general ideas about what constitutes an infectious disease, it is of importance to explain our medical definition.²⁸ Infectious diseases are caused by pathogens, which can be parasites, fungi, bacteria, viruses or prions (misfolded proteins). These may be able to invade the human body, when the skin is injured or if they reach the mucous membranes of the body (e.g. the inside of the respiratory or intestinal tract), which are semi-permeable. Once a pathogen has entered the body, it can infect one specific organ (e.g. the liver) or many (theoretically all) different parts of the body, the latter resulting in a so-called systemic infection. As soon as the intrusive pathogen has been detected by the body's immune system, the immune response is activated. The immune system's most common way to respond to the infection is by inflammation, which helps fighting off the pathogen, in

²³ Nutton (1983) 15.

²⁴ Jansen (2011) 158.

²⁵ More on this subject in Stannard (1993) 262-263.

²⁶ Leven (2004) 369-370, 384.

²⁷ See Scheidel (2013), also for discussion of other types of research on skeletons; cf. also Van der Linde (2008) and Killgrove (2010) 99-118.

²⁸ For what follows, see e.g. Sherris (2010).

raising the body's temperature and sending white blood cells to the place of infection.

This inflammation usually leads to clinical symptoms, such as fever, swelling and pain. The actions of the white blood cells in attacking the pathogen can injure surrounding healthy cells. Besides, the pathogen can do harm as well by its virulence factors; an example of a virulence factor is the excretion of toxic substances that kill or damage healthy cells. The incubation period, the time between the entering of the pathogen into the body and the appearance of clinical symptoms, varies from disease to disease. The result of infection depends on the outcome of the combat between the pathogen and the defence mechanisms of the human immune system. This battle can last for a long time; if the pathogen is not eliminated by acute inflammation, this may turn into a chronic inflammation of the body, which may last for months or years. If the infection is overcome, antibodies to the pathogen may have been created, which lead to a degree of immunity to the specific pathogen.

Not all microbes are pathogenic, i.e. leading to disease, for humans. In fact, most microbes are perfectly harmless or only cause disease in other organisms than humans. People transport numerous bacteria and other microbes with them. But not everything is as innocent as that. Carriers, individuals who carry pathogens without getting ill from these themselves, may unknowingly transmit the pathogen to someone else, who might get infected and become ill. The transmission of disease can take place in many forms, for example by sneezing, coughing or skin contact and sometimes by an external vector like mosquitoes.

Infectious diseases can be endemic or epidemic. In the former case, a disease is present at a low, but fairly constant level, without needing influences from outside the population to remain this way. In case of an epidemic disease, infections by a specific pathogen suddenly occur much more often than usual. A disease can be of a mere epidemic nature, occurring once or returning from time to time in a population, while another disease may remain endemic. Besides, a disease can be both endemic and become epidemic every now and then as well, when it crosses the so-called epidemic threshold. A modern example of such a disease is influenza, which normally is present at a stable and low level (endemic), but may cross the epidemic threshold when a new, mutated, variety occurs. The character of an infectious disease (lethal or not, epidemic or endemic) depends on several factors, related to the pathogen, the host and the way of transmission. How well does the pathogen

survive outside the human body, how virulent is the pathogen and in what way does it interact with other diseases? The age, sex, immune system acquired by previous infections, and working and living conditions, are relevant to the host in fighting off an infectious disease. Finally, issues concerning hygiene and population density may be important through creating several ways of transmission.

Our analysis of the three major diseases is structured as follows. In each case, we start with a discussion of the pathogen of the disease, the way it causes a disease among those that are infected, and what the symptoms of the disease are. Then we discuss how the disease may, in general, affect mortality patterns. We then move on to the evidence for its occurrence in Imperial Rome. Lastly, we discuss how the disease may have structured mortality patterns in the City.

2. MALARIA

Since malaria has been subject to a major recent analysis, it forms the best starting point for our discussion.²⁹ Malaria is an infectious disease caused by the parasite *Plasmodium*, whose most common types are *P. falciparum*, *P. vivax* and *P. malariae*. In principle malaria is not communicable between humans; the only route of human transmission is congenital (via the placenta when the mother is infected) or by way of blood transfusion.³⁰ In all other instances, the disease is transmitted by a mosquito, which ingests male and female gametes of the *Plasmodium*-parasite when feeding on a malarious human.³¹ Subsequently, fertilization takes place in the gut of the mosquito; the sporozoites that are subsequently formed migrate to (inter alia) the salivary glands. When the infected mosquito bites another human, the *Plasmodium* sporozoites from the mosquito's salivary glands are injected into the human blood stream. Soon afterwards, the sporozoites enter the human's liver cells, where they produce tens of thousands of daughter cells (merozoites). The release of merozoites in the blood stream leads to the invasion of red blood cells, in which the merozoites reproduce. When the red blood cells burst and release new merozoites in the blood

²⁹ See Sallares (2002). See also a briefer discussion based on Sallares' work by Scheidel (2003) 163-169; to both of which the following section is strongly indebted.

³⁰ Kiple (1993) 856.

³¹ Sherris (2010) 781-782.

stream, the first clinical signs of malaria appear. Some merozoites do not invade red blood cells, but instead transform into gametes, which can be ingested by a mosquito, whereupon the cycle starts all over again.

The most distinctive symptom of malaria is periodic fever, caused by the release of numerous merozoites when the invaded red blood cells burst.³² If the infection persists, one single population of merozoites remains and the release becomes synchronized — causing cyclic fever. While fever is a common symptom of most infectious diseases, this periodicity of the fever is characteristic of malaria.³³ A malarious attack of fever normally lasts a few hours and reappears in intervals of 48 hours (*P. falciparum*, *P. vivax*) or 72 hours (*P. malariae*). In some instances of *P. falciparum* and in case of multiple infection by different malaria-species at the same time, the fever does not need to become periodic.³⁴ The patient can in between fevers be relatively well, but the recurrent attacks of fever exhaust the patient to a high degree, a process which continues until the patient's immune system gets rid of the parasite or the patient dies.

Only some subspecies of the mosquito are able to transmit the *Plasmodium*-parasite: the *Anopheles atroparvus*, *A. labranchiae* and *A. sacharovi*. Mosquitoes do not fly easily. They rather not fly in full daylight, in strong winds, upwards or long distances from their breeding place. Consequently malaria is a very local disease, found around moist and warm spots.³⁵ Ambient temperature and humidity is not only decisive for the reproduction speed of the parasite in the mosquito, but also for the reproduction of the mosquito itself. The main risk factors in catching malaria-infection are being around stagnant water, or even slow-running, open drainage systems (the mosquito's breeding places), inhabiting valleys instead of high places (mosquitoes cannot fly high) or going outside at night (mosquitoes do not fly in full daylight).

The outcome of malaria can, but need not be, fatal. Malaria's mortality rate depends on several factors, one of which is concerned with the *Plasmodium*-subspecies. *P. falciparum* is by far the most dangerous and

³² Sherris (2010) 784.

³³ Relapsing fever is a characteristic of other diseases as well (e.g. *Borrelia* spp.), but the time between the original attack and the relapse is much longer than in the case of malaria.

³⁴ Dunn (1993) 859; Sherris (2010) 787.

³⁵ Sallares (2004) 312.

can be the main cause of death in healthy adults. *P. vivax* and *P. malariae* on the other hand can at most attribute to death, in collaboration with other harmful circumstances like multiple infection or malnutrition.³⁶ Furthermore, in populations where malaria is endemic, child mortality is extremely high. Young children have no immunity to the malaria parasite and are at a high risk of becoming infected, with the result that most of them die from the disease. Moreover, when a pregnant woman is infected by malaria, her foetus becomes malnourished and its growth is inhibited.³⁷ In this case, even though the infant itself need not be malarious, it is born smaller and weaker by the malaria-infection of its mother which reduces its chances of survival.

When infants (or adults) do survive a malaria-infection, they obtain a partial immunity known as premunity.³⁸ This mechanism inhibits, but does not eliminate, the disease in the case of a new infection and needs to be reactivated every once in a while by new malaria-infections. Moreover, premunity to one *Plasmodium*-subspecies does not extend to the others.³⁹ Even though immunity is partial and only confined to with one subspecies, malaria is seldom the main cause of death in adults in endemic populations. If they live their whole life in the same malaria-endemic population, individuals are able to continuously reactivate their immunity to all kinds of the malaria-subspecies present. However, a malaria infection can still contribute to mortality; if the immune system is weak or fighting another infection, it can collapse when malaria is contacted as well. By repressing the human immune system, the malaria-infection increases susceptibility to tuberculosis as well as the rate of development of tuberculosis infections.⁴⁰ Besides, malaria can also aggravate other diseases.⁴¹ Since the malaria-parasite destroys red blood cells, it is a cause of anaemia as well. In sum, endemic malaria leads not only to high child mortality in a population, but indirectly to a relatively high adult mortality as well. In itself there are no differences in mortality between the sexes, but in the case of women it is clear that when their immune system is weakened by pregnancy they may succumb earlier than men.

³⁶ Bruce-Chwatt & Zueleta (1980) 19.

³⁷ Sallares (2002) 126.

³⁸ Dunn (1993) 859; Sherris (2010) 787.

³⁹ Scheidel (1994) 163.

⁴⁰ Sallares (2002) 135-139.

⁴¹ Dunn (1993) 859; Sallares and Gomzi (2001) 201; Sallares (2002).

Because of its characteristic periodic fevers, malaria is in retrospect fairly easy to diagnose in ancient writings.⁴² Writing under the early Empire, the physicians Celsus (c. 25 BC – AD 50) and Galen (AD 129 – c. 200) distinguished between four types of periodic fevers that strongly resemble modern descriptions of the different types of malaria.⁴³ Some of these *febres* were considered more dangerous than others: the more time between the fever attacks, the less harmful the disease.

quotidian	no intervals	multiple infection / <i>P. falciparum</i>
malignant tertian/semiteertian ⁴⁴	48h-intervals	<i>P. falciparum</i> (most fatal)
benign tertian	48h-intervals	<i>P. vivax</i> (less fatal)
quartan	72h-intervals	<i>P. malariae</i>

The only problematical part in the descriptions of the medical authors is the identification of the quotidian fever. It is perhaps to be identified with the type of malaria caused by *P. falciparum* (which need not become periodic) or described the first, not yet periodic, stages of malaria, or it was due to infection by multiple *Plasmodium*-parasites at the same time. Another possibility is that the quotidian fever does not indicate malaria at all. Most infectious diseases are associated with fever and quotidian fever is not a symptom distinct enough to rule out other diseases than malaria.

Malaria is a highly localised disease, but we can safely assume that malaria was existent and even endemic in Imperial Rome.⁴⁵ Galen explicitly states that we do not need Hippocrates' description of the fevers, because we can see them in action in Rome every day.⁴⁶ Outside medical contexts, the malicious influence of the fevers is mentioned casually as well. Juvenal, for example, writes about the sick hoping for a quartan fever (instead of the worse tertian or quotidian).⁴⁷ The existence

⁴² For references see Corpus Hippocraticum, *Epid.* 1, 6-7; 24; case 1; 10 (Littre 2,620; 674; 684, 704); *Progn.* 24 (Littre 2,182); *Aer.* 7.28 (Littre 2,29).

⁴³ Cels. *De Med.* 3.3; Gal. 7.435; 7.467-8; 17A.235; Retief & Cilliers (2004) 129; Bruce-Chwatt & Zueleta (1980) 18; Scheidel (1994) 158; Dunn (1993) 855; Sallares (2004) 314.

⁴⁴ Scheidel (2003) 165 for discussion.

⁴⁵ Sallares (2002). Cf. Shaw (1996) 133 and Lo Cascio (2000) 49-50.

⁴⁶ Gal. 7.435: οὐκέτ' ἐν τῷδε μάρτυρος οὐθ' Ἱπποκράτους οὔτε ἄλλου τινὸς ὁ λόγος χρῆζει, μόνον οὐ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὀρώντων ἡμῶν αὐτὸν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν Πρώμῃ.

⁴⁷ Juv. *Sat.* 4.56-7: iam letifero cedente pruinis autumno, iam quartanam sperantibus aegris. Cf. Mart. 2.40.

of a temple for the god(dess) 'Fever', mentioned amongst others by Cicero, also underlines the importance of (malarious) fevers in Rome.⁴⁸ Ecological conditions in Rome were surely ideal to mosquitoes; the City was moist. The banks of the river Tiber, the stagnant pools in holes after the common Tiber floods, open drainage systems and irrigated gardens formed optimal breeding places to the Roman mosquitoes.⁴⁹ The climate was warm enough to allow the reproduction of different *Plasmodium*-species, including the most fatal variant *P. falciparum*. Finally, skeletal evidence from cemeteries located in the Roman suburbs strongly points to the significance of malaria in the imperial period.⁵⁰

Each year, during the hottest months, a malaria epidemic probably took place due to the fast reproduction of mosquitoes and parasites in high temperatures.⁵¹ Malaria might even have become hyperendemic, meaning that 50% of all children, and a substantial part of all the adults, were infected by the parasite.⁵² Child mortality would go sky high during these months, up to possibly 80, 90 or even 100% more than the remaining part of the year.⁵³ This was due to direct infections or indirectly by the mother's infection, which could result in miscarriages, stillborn or weaker infants.⁵⁴ Adult mortality would have risen as well. For adult inhabitants without any immunity to malaria, mostly immigrants, a *P. falciparum* infection would be fatal. Both people born in Rome and immigrants coming from malarious regions suffered from a high mortality rate, despite their relative immunity. Malaria may not have been their main cause of death, but in combination with malnourishment and, more importantly, other infectious diseases, their mortality also rose sharply in the summer months. The winter months will have been relatively free of malaria — they were too cold for the mosquitoes to reproduce — but because the parasite could survive asymptomatic in individuals, the epidemic started all over when temperatures rose again.⁵⁵

Malaria did not as a rule hit the socioeconomic lower groups of society harder, at least not significantly. Due to the local character of the

⁴⁸ Cic. *N.D.* 3.63: *Febris enim fanum in Palatino (...) videmus*. See also Sen. *Apoc.* 4-6. For more information on this Dea Febris, see Burke (1996) 2266-2271.

⁴⁹ Sallares (2002) 211, 228; Aldrete (2007).

⁵⁰ Gowland & Garnsey (2010) 149.

⁵¹ Scheidel (1994) 159.

⁵² Scheidel (1994) 162; Dunn (1993) 856

⁵³ Scheidel (1994) 163.

⁵⁴ Scheidel (1994) 164.

⁵⁵ Sallares & Gomzi (2001) 199.

disease, malaria would have been more active in some parts of the City (moist, low) than others. Members of the elite avoided these areas, by living on the hills, and could and did flee the malaria epidemic in the summer months by moving to their rural villas.⁵⁶ At the same time, elite housing had its disadvantages. *Impluvia* and irrigated gardens were perfect breeding grounds for malaria mosquitoes. Moreover, not just the rich in the *domus* on the hills but also the poor on the higher floors of the *insulae* would have been relatively safe from malaria, since mosquitoes do not fly high.⁵⁷

Levels of infant and child mortality will have been extremely high due to malaria, especially in the summer months. The peaks in seasonal mortality can also be related directly to malaria, partly as the main cause of death and attributed partly to other infections, resulting in a combination that is lethal to the infected individual. At the same time, it was a highly localised disease, which meant that mobility patterns could affect risks; non-immune immigrants moving into the City would be very vulnerable indeed, whereas those wealthy enough to escape from the City during the summer to less humid surroundings would be at an advantage.

3. TUBERCULOSIS

Tuberculosis (or TB) is an infectious disease that is caused by the bacterial pathogen *Mycobacterium tuberculosis*. TB is a systemic infection, which means that the infection is not limited to one organ, but is able to affect many different parts of the human body.⁵⁸ The most contagious form, which will be the subject of our discussion, is pulmonary tuberculosis. In patients suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis, large quantities of tubercle bacilli are deposited in small cavities in the lungs. The tubercle bacilli spread from there in tiny droplets to the outside world whenever the patient breathes, talks, sneezes, sings or otherwise uses his respiratory system.⁵⁹ These droplets can float in the air for hours, waiting for some other human to inhale them. Since a tuberculosis infection can result from inhaling just one bacterium, the risk of infection is extremely

⁵⁶ Sen., *Ep.*, 104; Morley (2005) 198; Sallares (2002) 204.

⁵⁷ See in a similar vein Scheidel (2003) 166.

⁵⁸ Johnston (1993) 1059.

⁵⁹ Johnston (1993) 1059; Sherris (2010) 494.

high. However, infection by tubercle bacilli does not in all cases lead to disease.⁶⁰ In many instances, the human immune system is able to suppress the foreign invader temporarily for months, years or even decades. When circumstances change and the immune system weakens or gets occupied in fighting off other dangerous infections, the *M. tuberculosis*-bacteria can cause disease. This means that the incubation period for tuberculosis is highly variable and varies from several weeks to many years.

As a chronic infection tuberculosis is remarkably lethal. It has been (and in many developing countries still is) a main cause of death for adults.⁶¹ When the disease has developed, it can take months or years before the patient dies from the disease, though in the case of infants and small children the disease can take on an acute form which is fatal within weeks or months.⁶² Tuberculosis is in many instances of an epidemic nature, but when the size of a population is high enough, it can become endemic. Because of being highly contagious and the long duration of the disease, endemic tuberculosis has a profound effect on the mortality rates of a population. In contrast to malaria, TB-mortality does not spike at a specific time of year because of the varying incubation periods in different patients. It is however very well possible that more TB-patients die during specific months due to multiple infection with other diseases which do show seasonal mortality. Beyond the risks of multiple infection, TB can also interact with other diseases. When a TB-patient gets infected with malaria, the malaria increases the TB. When the infection is the other way around (a malaria patient gets infected with TB), tuberculosis tends to develop less.⁶³

Since infection by *M. tuberculosis* does not necessarily lead to (immediate) disease, it is clear that other factors are of importance for its actual appearance. Age is one of them: the immune system of small children, children in puberty and the elderly is less powerful and less able to suppress or eliminate the tubercle bacilli.⁶⁴ Adult mortality due to TB is high as well, but not as high as in the previously mentioned age categories, because of the stronger immune system of most adults. Young adults (ca. 20) are, however, remarkably susceptible to dying from TB,

⁶⁰ Johnston (1993) 1060.

⁶¹ Gagneux (2012) 850.

⁶² Johnston (1993) 1059.

⁶³ Sallares (2002) 138.

⁶⁴ Johnston (1993) 1060; Katz & Kunofsky (1960) 217.

probably due to hormonal changes which may trigger a latent TB-infection.⁶⁵ There are no obvious differences in mortality between the sexes. The most important external factor in developing a TB-infection into disease is socio-economic status or, more precisely, the living conditions related to this status.⁶⁶ Wealthier persons are much less likely to die from the disease because of their superior quality of life. In the modern world the rise of income is directly related to a decrease of TB-mortality.⁶⁷

It is not entirely clear why TB is a typical poor man's disease, but several factors certainly contribute to it.⁶⁸ Part of the explanation is formed by the cramped living conditions of the lower classes. When people live together in large groups in crowded housing, the risk of getting infected by *M. tuberculosis* is much higher because the disease is so contagious. Whether malnourishment contributes to a TB-infection, is debated.⁶⁹ Working conditions may be of influence as well. People engaged in 'dusty' professions (e.g. potters or whitesmiths) inhale small particles of dust that are floating around and can inflate the lungs, making them more susceptible to TB-infection.⁷⁰

The way in which the human immune system reacts to infection with the tubercle bacilli is complex and only partly understood. Resistance to TB varies from one person to the other and is probably to some degree inherited.⁷¹ Immunity acquired by surviving a TB-infection does not lead to stable and long-lasting protection, which is why the effect of vaccination programs for this disease is doubtful.⁷² This also means that in a population where TB is endemic, the indigenous inhabitants are probably not more immune to the disease than immigrants.

Whereas the characteristic symptom of malaria, periodic fever, was easily discernible in ancient medical texts, this approach is less successful when applied to tuberculosis. In contrast to malaria, TB does not have one distinctive symptom which excludes nearly all other diseases. There are however several familiar symptoms of TB, including at first a loss of weight and malaise (the feeling that one is sick) and, in later stages of the disease, strong consumption of the body and the coughing

⁶⁵ Scheidel (2001a) 8.

⁶⁶ Pope & Gordon (1955) 318; Terris (1948).

⁶⁷ Kass (1971) 111-112; Katz & Kunofsky (1960) 217.

⁶⁸ Gagneux (2012) 850.

⁶⁹ Kass (1971) 112; Johnston (1993) 1061.

⁷⁰ Johnston (1993) 1061.

⁷¹ Johnston (1993) 1060.

⁷² Johnston (1993) 1062.

up of blood. Traditionally the Greek word φθίσις is considered to have denoted pulmonary tuberculosis,⁷³ but it merely refers to consumption, the severe loss of body weight of the patient.⁷⁴ This phenomenon is a symptom of other diseases than TB as well.⁷⁵ The mention of φθίσις in medical texts thus may have included TB, but without excluding all other diseases.

The vagueness of symptoms and the fact that φθίσις does not unambiguously refer to TB make it hard to irrefutably diagnose this disease in ancient medical literature. The symptoms most distinctive for TB (consumption and coughing up blood) are encountered in several ancient texts.⁷⁶ Galen, when writing on some disease which may well be TB, mentions the high degree of contagiousness that is characteristic for TB.⁷⁷ Aretaeus of Cappadocia describes both the consumption and coughing up blood in relation to φθίσις.⁷⁸ Celsus interestingly distinguishes between several types of φθίσις, one of which, called the most dangerous, does remind us strongly of TB because the coughing up of blood is mentioned.⁷⁹ Several non-medical sources are thought to have been describing cases of TB as well,⁸⁰ though these references are less exact than the medical texts. An interesting Greek inscription from the second or third century AD which describes how Asklepios cured a case of φθόη (φθίσις) in one hundred days has been discovered in Rome.⁸¹ Since TB is a chronic disease that can linger on for months, this reference might indeed indicate a case of tuberculosis. Since symptoms typical for TB do appear in ancient medical literature, it is

⁷³ Dormandy (1999) 2; Johnston (1993) 1062; Daniel (1997) 14.

⁷⁴ See Bynum (2012) 12-18 for the meaning of φθίσις in the Hippocratic Corpus and Galen.

⁷⁵ Leven (2005) 702.

⁷⁶ Meinecke (1927) 38; Rigsby (2001) 108; Corpus Hippocraticum, *Epid.* 1,2 (Littre 2, 604f); *Epid.* 3,13-14 (Littre 3,92-98).

⁷⁷ Gal. 7.279.

⁷⁸ Aret. *De causis et signis diurnorum morborum* 1.8.

⁷⁹ Cels. *De med.* 3.22.

⁸⁰ E.g. Plin. *Ep.* 5,19,6; Keaveny & Madden (1979) on a possible case of genito-urinary TB in Plin. *Ep.* 6,24; Cilliers & Retief (2000) on the case of Sulla, whose ill health is described in Plin. *NH* 7.138; 26.138; Plu. *Sull.* 2.1; 26.3; 37.3-4; Paus. 1.20.7; V. Max. 9.3.8, and is sometimes attributed to TB.

⁸¹ SEG XLIII 661 (with subsequent corrections): ἐνταῦθ' ἀκέσατο Λοῦπο[ν] ἐν λυγροῖσι φθόῃ χειμῶνι Παιᾶν Θύβρι[τις], [ἐκ]ατὸν ἡμασιν· βωμὸν δ' ἐδείματ' Ἀρρία Πλατωνική τιμῶσ' ἑταῖρον χ' εἰλεουμένη θεόν. "Here the Healer on the Tiber cured Lupus in his wretched wasting, in winter, in hundred days. Arria the Platonist honouring her companion and propitiating the god"; see Rigsby (2001).

possible to construct with some certainty the retrospective diagnosis of TB.⁸²

Moreover, physical-anthropological research has identified tubercle bacilli preserved in ancient bone material from different parts of the ancient world. The *M. tuberculosis* was unambiguously extracted from bones from Egyptian mummies dating from the third millennium BC⁸³ and from the teeth of skeletons buried at the Kerameikos in Athens.⁸⁴ Some skeletal material surviving from Rome may indicate the occurrence of the disease as well. In a necropolis at the via Nomentana (10 km NE of the city centre), the skeleton of a robust male, 25-35 years old, shows alterations which are attributed to tuberculous spondylitis, tuberculosis of the spine, also known as Pott's disease.⁸⁵ Moreover, recent research has shown that Italians have a genetic trait, which is associated with natural resistance to tuberculosis. This may suggest that they were at an early point in their history exposed to the disease.⁸⁶ Overall, the preconditions of the highly contagious disease TB existing before and during antiquity in the Mediterranean, combined with the physical-anthropological and genetic indications, and textual evidence from Rome, suggest with a high degree of probability that TB was present and known in Rome.

The combination of TB being highly contagious, its high mortality rate and the fact that the population of Rome was large and dense enough for TB to become endemic, suggests that TB may have had a profound effect on Roman mortality. The risk of developing the disease after infection depended (inter alia) on age. Individuals whose immune system was somewhat weaker or who were exposed to hormonal changes (small children, adolescents and elderly) were more likely to suffer from TB. Immigrants will not have been more susceptible to tuberculosis for the simple reason that it is not possible to develop firm immunity against it. In contrast to

⁸² Bynum (2012) 12

⁸³ Daniel (1997) 9; Johnston (1993) 1062; Cilliers & Retief (2000) 39; Dormandy (1999) 1-2; Scheidel (2001a) 8; Manchester (1984) 163-164; Stone e.a. (2009) 69. See Scheidel (2001b) 91-92 for more Egyptian evidence.

⁸⁴ Papagrigorakis (2006) 206-207.

⁸⁵ Canci e.a. (2005). Cf. Killgrove (2010) 107. Initially, research on the so-called Grottarossa mummy that was found in 1964 along the via Cassia containing the body of a young girl from the 2nd cent. AD suggested that she died from TB, but later analysis has widened the possible causes of death, though TB remains a distinct possibility. See Ascenzi e.a. (1996) with further refs.

⁸⁶ Barnes e.a. (2011).

malaria, TB-mortality does not peak at the end of summer or any other time of year. This is due to the highly variable incubation period and the fact that temperature does not influence the *M. tuberculosis*. TB therefore cannot be responsible for the mortality peak at the end of summer.⁸⁷ It can however by its interaction with malaria or other seasonal infectious diseases have amplified this mortality peak. TB patients might therefore have been more likely to die at the end of summer — not because of the tuberculosis, but the consequences of another disease which they were not able to fight off due to the TB-infection.

In the past, tuberculosis was a poor man's disease. Crowded living and dusty professions were the main causes. Whether TB was also a poor man's disease in ancient Rome remains doubtful. Dusty professions, such as pottery and metalworking, certainly would be performed in Rome by the socio-economic less fortunate, including slaves. But crowded living was not only reserved for the lower classes. Members of Roman elites hardly lived alone; they were surrounded by many individuals. Houses full of slaves will have meant easy transmission of the tubercle bacilli. In addition, the social practices that elite membership required meant that the elite risked TB-infection even more: they interacted frequently with social peers and received clients. The fact that kissing was a frequent greeting ritual will have done little to avert the risks of transmission.⁸⁸ The elite would have had the general advantage of being better nourished and nursed, which increased survival rates for most diseases. With respect to TB the advantages will have been limited. Luxury had its price.

4. TYPHOID FEVER

Typhoid fever is an infectious disease caused by the *Salmonella typhi* bacteria, which enters the human body through polluted drinking water or food. Once in the human digestive system it moves via the intestines into the blood stream. The *S. typhi*-bacteria can survive in the highly inhospitable and acid conditions of the stomach, which are fatal to most other micro-organisms. The body's immune response to the *S. typhi*-bacteria is

⁸⁷ Cf. Shaw (1996).

⁸⁸ See in particular Plin. *NH* 26.3 (kissing spreads disease among the elite), further Suet. *Tib.* 34.2, Mart. 8.95; 11.98; 12.95.

complex, because the bacteria can multiply within the white blood cells (macrophages) that should be destroying them. By hiding from the immune system in this way, the *S. typhi*-bacteria can easily multiply and then come back into the blood stream, which is when the first symptoms occur. The incubation period is normally around 14 days, but this can differ substantially from individual to individual, depending on the quantity of bacteria present in the polluted water or food.⁸⁹ The bacteria are removed from the bloodstream by the liver, but are secreted in the bile that enters the intestines which leads to reinfection, whereby the disease may be maintained.⁹⁰

Untreated, typhoid fever is fatal in 20-30% of all cases.⁹¹ Typhoid fever is however much more deadly in multiple infections and can interact with other diseases like malaria.⁹² Typhoid fever is usually endemic, but can break out in epidemics as well.⁹³ For example, in modern-day Myanmar, typhoid fever is epidemic in the summer,⁹⁴ probably because of the higher consumption of polluted drinking water or because the bacteria can reproduce faster at higher temperatures. Theoretically, immunity to typhoid fever can be acquired by surviving the disease, but since there are many variants of *S. typhi* and immunity to one variant does not imply immunity to another, in practice immunity to typhoid fever is difficult to obtain. Even immunity does not offer full protection; infection by high doses of the bacteria can still bring on the disease.⁹⁵

It is still debated which age groups are more susceptible to getting infected by or dying from typhoid fever. Some research shows that small children and the elderly are the most vulnerable because their stomach is less acidic, giving the *S. typhi*-bacteria a greater chance of surviving this stage of the digestive system and causing infection through the intestines.⁹⁶ These two age groups in general have a weaker immune system than adults. On the other hand, some empirical evidence points to children and adolescents aged 3-19 as being the most susceptible to typhoid fever.⁹⁷ It is not clear what theory lies behind this observation. A difficulty in all empirical

⁸⁹ Blaser & Newman (1982) 1102; LeBaron & Taylor (1993) 1072; Khan (2004) 146.

⁹⁰ Khan (2004) 145.

⁹¹ Scheidel (2001a) 9. Cf. Scheidel (2001b) 69.

⁹² Blaser & Newman (1982) 1097.

⁹³ Scheidel (1994); LeBaron & Taylor (1993) 1071.

⁹⁴ Aye & Siriarayapon (2004) 396.

⁹⁵ Blaser & Newman (1982) 1097; LeBaron & Taylor (1993) 1072-1074.

⁹⁶ LeBaron & Taylor (1993) 1071; Blaser & Newman (1982) 1097.

⁹⁷ Keuter (1998) 157; LeBaron & Taylor (1993) 1073; Scheidel (2001a) 9; Scheidel (2001b) 68.

research of typhoid fever is the fact that the disease can have different symptoms in small children and is thus more difficult to diagnose correctly.

Some of the typhoid fever survivors become carriers afterwards. These individuals carry the *S. typhi* in their bile and intestines, but are not ill themselves. Women appear more often to be carriers of the typhoid bacteria, but this somehow does not affect their own mortality. Because the faeces of carriers and patients contains the *S. typhi*, the infection can spread very quickly in averse hygienic conditions. Individuals who come into contact with infected stool and do not clean their hands afterwards, can easily transmit the disease when subsequently handling food of others, for example, when many people eat with their hands from the same dish. Cesspools are risky, since they have to be dug out from time to time, whereby the chance of contacting the stool is very high. Eating food from street sellers is another risk, because one infected street seller can infect many other people with typhoid fever because he handles their food. Traces of infected stool can also transmit the disease by polluted drinking water. When the drinking water supply is not properly separated from the sewage system, it is likely that stool parts pollute the water. The risks are strongest when people get their drinking water from a river which is or is near to a sewage. Consequently flooding of nearby sewages is extremely risky when the river is the source of drinking water.⁹⁸ By cooking the drinking water before consuming the chances of infection are sharply reduced.

Hygiene is the main determinant in the spread of the disease, but hygienic conditions are unlikely to be the same everywhere. Modern studies show that typhoid fever occurs particularly frequent in areas with a high population density.⁹⁹ The most likely (and most simple) explanation is that in such areas hygienic conditions are poor. Moreover, street sellers will often sell food that is contaminated. Other research has pointed to status and wealth as well. Comparative research of early-modern Pittsburgh showed that mortality from typhoid fever was not evenly distributed in the city. Location, ethnicity and socio-economic status seemed to matter as well; especially immigrants and their families suffered more from typhoid fever.¹⁰⁰ In all likelihood, all the factors correlated with hygienic standards, with the poorer parts of the population having worse hygienic conditions, enabling the disease to spread faster.

⁹⁸ Aye & Siriaryapon (2004) 397.

⁹⁹ Aye & Siriaryapon (2004) 396.

¹⁰⁰ Koppes & Norris (1985) 270-271.

Admittedly, there is no unequivocal evidence that typhoid fever occurred in Rome, but it seems likely that it did. The problem is that symptoms of typhoid fever are less distinctive than those of malaria (periodic fever) and TB (coughing up blood, consumption).¹⁰¹ The symptoms include fever, malaise and loss of weight, but these symptoms are far too general to enable a retrospective diagnosis of the disease in the ancient evidence. A passage in the Hippocratic Corpus¹⁰² seems to describe typhoid fever, but although the symptoms belonging to the disease are mentioned frequently, no passages as explicit as the Hippocratic one occur in the Roman medical texts. We thus cannot tell on the basis of the texts alone if typhoid fever existed in Imperial Rome, but at the same time the texts certainly allow for the possibility.

There is some more material suggesting that typhoid fever was already part of the Mediterranean world long before Roman imperial times apart from the Hippocratic textual evidence. It is generally considered to be a very old disease¹⁰³ and there are indications for its existence in Egypt.¹⁰⁴ In addition, typhoid fever is one of the popular suspects to have caused the Athenian plague in ca. 430 BC as described by Thucydides. Without tackling this age-old question here, interesting evidence has come up in excavations of the Kerameikos in Athens. Residues of *Salmonella typhi* were extracted from a number of ancient skeletons dating from the time of the plague.¹⁰⁵ This research, however, is not entirely undisputed; only three skeletons showed *S. typhi*-residues and it is possible that these residues belonged to much less dangerous and less fatal types of *Salmonella*-bacteria.¹⁰⁶ This shows the complexities involved in physical-anthropological research; when residues of a type of bacteria which has pathogen *and* non-pathogen subspecies are found, it does not necessarily imply the occurrence of the disease.¹⁰⁷ Bone samples tested for bacteria may have been contaminated by the bacteria in the earth in which they were buried.¹⁰⁸ Whether or not typhoid fever can be identified as the

¹⁰¹ Typhoid or τῦφος/τῖφος is a Greek word, which is used in the Hippocratic Corpus for several different kinds of fever (Corpus Hippocraticum, *Internal Affections* 39-43), but also means (according to the Liddell & Scott lexicon) 'delusion', 'nonsense' or 'vanity'.

¹⁰² Grmek (1989) 348-349 on Corpus Hippocraticum, *Epid.* 7,2 (Littré 5, 382-386).

¹⁰³ LeBaron & Taylor (1993) 1075.

¹⁰⁴ Scheidel (2001b) 70.

¹⁰⁵ Papagrigorakis e.a. (2006) 206-207.

¹⁰⁶ Littman (2009) 465-466.

¹⁰⁷ Leven (2004) 371.

¹⁰⁸ Shapiro e.a. (2006) 334.

cause of the Athenian plague, the research has at least pointed to the possibility that it existed in the ancient Greek world.

The evidence for its occurrence is thus circumstantial. However, given the ease with which the disease could travel and be transmitted, typhoid fever from the Eastern Mediterranean could easily have been transmitted to Rome. Because all kinds of people went to Rome from all over the world and the place had a high population density enabling the disease to become endemic, it seems probable that typhoid occurred in Rome.

If we assume that typhoid fever occurred and that it was endemic, what would have been the influence of typhoid fever on the mortality of Imperial Rome? Hygiene is the crux, and its evaluation has been subject to debate.¹⁰⁹ Clear drinking water was available in abundant supply. Fresh drinking water came primarily through the aqueducts to the city, where it streamed into basins and fountains from which Romans would get their drinking water.¹¹⁰ In addition, a sewage system was present, the best known part of which is the Cloaca Maxima.

Although both sewage system and water supply are impressive achievements, the problem is that both were not completely segregated. The water conducted to the city in aqueducts may have been pure, but the basins in which it was collected had an open connection to the sewage system. This makes the drinking water extremely susceptible to pollution, since a so-called backwash could occur: the Cloaca could flood the forum and pollute the drinking water in the basins.¹¹¹ Besides, the Tiber was heavily polluted by faecal residues.¹¹² We know that the Tiber flooded the city from time to time, with similar consequences as a backwash directly from the sewage system.

Unhygienic sanitary conditions increased the risk of transmitting typhoid fever as well, being places where one could come easily into contact with possibly infected faeces from other individuals.¹¹³ This applied in particular to the public latrines, but also in private bathrooms, still used by an entire household. Although Rome had a sewage system, most households were not connected to it; there was no obligation for house owners

¹⁰⁹ Jansen (2011) 157; Kron (2012)

¹¹⁰ Scobie (1986) 423.

¹¹¹ Pliny *NH* 36,104: *aliquando Tiberis retro infusus recipitur*; Scobie (1986) 423; Thüry (2001) 10; Aldrete (2007) 151.

¹¹² Aldrete (2007) 34-35; 143. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2.93.

¹¹³ Jansen (2011) 162.

to do so.¹¹⁴ Thus most Roman homes had cesspools,¹¹⁵ the risk of which has been stated above.¹¹⁶ Moreover the position of these cesspools seems to have been in or next to the kitchen, at least in Pompeii, which increased the risk of contaminating the food.¹¹⁷ Contaminated food will have been sold by street food sellers, as well as in the *tabernae*,¹¹⁸ where food was kept warm all day, a perfect environment for bacteria to multiply.

How will all of this have affected the Roman population? It is likely that the incidence of typhoid fever in Rome peaked in the summer (July, August), due to the increased consumption of polluted water and the faster multiplication of bacteria in contaminated food. It is not immediately clear whether or not immigrants were more vulnerable to typhoid fever. On the one hand, immunity to typhoid fever is, as we have seen, relative and does not cover all variants. On the other hand, immigrants may have come from typhoid areas and be adapted to the disease. Presumably, the difference in typhoid susceptibility between immigrants and people originating from the City was not that large, but the Rome-born population may have had a slight advantage in the form of relative immunity to the specific sequence types of *Salmonella typhi* most abundant in Rome and to which they would have been exposed more often.

Differences between socio-economic groups are unlikely to have been of any real significance. Only the very small group of elite members whose houses were connected to the sewage system and obtained their own drinking water (i.e. not from the basins), might have had an advantage, but only as long as no backwashes occurred. The other Romans were highly likely to take on the *S. typhi*-bacteria somewhere, because all public drinking water and sanitary was highly unhygienic. Romans who regularly ate street food or food from *tabernae* would be even more at risk.

CONCLUSION

A study of diseases cannot be used as a verification or falsification of the applicability of model life tables. But our arguments are certainly in line with the general characteristics of Roman mortality patterns which

¹¹⁴ Scobie (1986) 411-412.

¹¹⁵ Scobie (1986) 416.

¹¹⁶ Scobie (1986) 409.

¹¹⁷ Scobie (1986) 409; Morley (2005) 193.

¹¹⁸ Holleran (2012) 194-231.

have been inferred on their basis. At the same time a study of the three diseases adds important nuances to the general picture.

Although our study offers no direct proof, the findings are certainly congruent with high levels of mortality. All three infectious diseases require a population of significant size to become endemic. There must be enough individuals that can be infected and the chances of transmission must be high enough for the disease to remain present. Without a doubt Rome met these criteria: it is highly probable that all three diseases were endemic to the City. In the case of tuberculosis the high population density was conducive to its rapid spread. In the case of malaria and typhoid, density was of less importance once the threshold for endemicity was reached. These diseases will quite often have been lethal, and either on their own or in combination with other disadvantageous factors, such as multiple infections, they will have made many victims.

All three diseases were probably endemic, but they could also turn into epidemics. In the case of malaria and typhoid fever, such epidemics would occur during the summer. Due to high temperatures, a larger quantity of possibly contaminated water was consumed and typhoid bacteria in food would multiply at increased speed. The reproduction of malaria parasites and the *Anopheles* mosquitoes that spread them also increased as temperatures rose, so that malaria epidemics would occur in the same period. This is in line with the findings about seasonal mortality, showing a peak in deaths in the late summer, when temperatures in Rome were highest. It is likely that at this time of the year the epidemic threshold was reached, and typhoid fever and malaria temporarily became epidemic. Through multiple infections, these epidemics will also have increased the number of deaths through other diseases than typhoid and malaria. For example this will have applied to tuberculosis, a disease that in itself is not subject to seasonal variation.

The findings are also congruent with high levels of infant mortality.¹¹⁹ The immune system of infants was still weak, which made them vulnerable to all infectious diseases. In the case of malaria it can be added that if the mother was infected, their children would be weaker due to a lower weight at birth and therefore start at a disadvantage right at birth. Because the process of digestion is faster in small children and their stomach is less

¹¹⁹ Cf. the arguments of Woods (2007), suggesting somewhat lower levels of infant mortality than those normally assumed.

acidic, they are more likely to get infected by typhoid fever. After all, the *S. typhi*-bacteria needed to survive the hostile environment of the stomach to be able to infect the intestines. Chances for these bacteria to reach the intestines are increased when the time spent in the stomach is short and its environment less acidic and thereby less harmful to the bacteria.

Immigrants were perhaps at a higher risk of dying than the Rome-born population, but it is important to emphasise that such risks differed for each disease. In the case of tuberculosis immunity could hardly be obtained at all and this implies that the Rome-born population and the immigrants would be equally affected. In the case of malaria, the situation was different. Due to repeated exposure to malaria during childhood the Rome-born population would have obtained some degree of immunity during adulthood — provided they had survived. Even if immigrants had obtained immunity against malaria at their place of origin it is less likely to have benefited them in Rome, because there were multiple varieties of malaria and immunity from one offered no protection against the other. In the case of typhoid, immunity was relative and only useful against exposure to low doses of typhoid bacteria. This may have put the Rome-born population at an advantage, but it should be realised that such relative immunity might also have been obtained by immigrants through exposure to typhoid in the place of origin: the unhygienic situations that were so conducive to its spread were hardly confined to the city of Rome.

The infectious diseases will not in themselves have produced higher level of female mortality: malaria, tuberculosis and typhoid occurred just as often among men as among women. Women were more often carriers of the typhoid bacteria, but this did not affect their own mortality.¹²⁰ However, indirectly infectious diseases might have had effects on female mortality, for example when weakened through pregnancies or giving birth their immune system may not have been fully functioning and they may have succumbed earlier than men.

Interestingly, hygiene only mattered in the case of one of the three diseases. Malaria is transmitted by mosquitoes. Tuberculosis is transmitted through proximity to someone infected who through coughing or sneezing transmitted drops with TB-bacteria. Only in the case of typhoid hygiene is the major factor in its spread. Because the population often consumed contaminated drinking water and food that was prepared in unhygienic conditions, the disease could spread extremely rapidly.

¹²⁰ LeBaron & Taylor (1993) 1072.

The role of socio-economic status differed from disease to disease.¹²¹ In general, the elite will have been at an advantage because better food and better personal care will have led to an increased chance to survive a disease. But in its exposure to infectious diseases the elite will hardly have had the same advantage. The very wealthiest parts of the population of Rome might have been less at risk of infection with malaria, because they lived in the higher parts of the City and moved outside Rome during the summer. But elite *domus* normally featured *impluvia* and gardens, and these formed excellent breeding places for the mosquitoes which transmitted the disease. Ironically, the very poor who lived on the higher floors of the *insulae* might have had the same advantages as the wealthy people who lived on the hills. In the case of tuberculosis members of the elite through their frequent contact with *clientes* and more in general their frequent social interactions in public will hardly have been less at risk of infection than the rest of the urban population. Functioning as nodes in social networks did not only bring benefits. In the case of typhoid the hygienic circumstances with respect to food and water are likely to have effected everyone, independent of status.

Rome, with its large population and so many endemic diseases, was a unique City, a 'doctor's dream', as Scheidel has ironically called it.¹²² Analysis of the three killer diseases shows that the relationship between disease and mortality is more complex than is often assumed. Discussions are often confined to statements that the mortality peak in the summer was caused by infectious diseases, or that mortality was caused by bad sanitation, or that immigrants were at a disadvantage due to lack of immunity, or that diseases were great levellers that operated independent of status, or that the spread of diseases depended primarily on population density. None of these generalisations is necessarily untrue, but they certainly did not apply always and everywhere. Even within high mortality regimes there will have been a significant amount of variation.

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¹²¹ Likewise Hin (2013) 128-129.

¹²² Scheidel (2003) 158. Cf. Gal. 7.435, cited above: observation could take place in the street.

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IUDAEA RECEPTA — EINE NEUE LEGENDE AUF GOLDMÜNZEN VESPASIANUS*

Abstract: Until now, Roman representations of the first Jewish-Roman War of 66-73 AD on Flavian coins were thought to be quite coherent, describing Iudaea as having been captured or conquered: coin types circulated with the legends *Iudaea capta*, *Iudaea devicta* or [*Victoria*] *de Iudaeis*. In contrast herewith, Iudaea was not a foreign enemy or a newly annexed province, but a province already established. But now, for the first time in the Flavian coinage, the exceptional legend *Iudaea recepta* appears. Compared with the other types, the new *recepta* issue presents a historically and politically more accurate view of Rome's triumph over the Jewish rebels. It indicates the pacification of a province. Similar proclamations are attested on Augustan coinage.

Iudaea war bereits unter Augustus zur römischen Provinz geschlagen worden. Im Jahre 6 n.Chr. wurde das Dynastengebiet des Archelaos,¹ eines der Söhne von Herodes dem Grossen, an die Provinz Syria annektiert.² Unter dem Namen Iudaea wurde dieses Gebiet als administrative Unter-einheit zuerst von einem ritterlichen *praefectus* und ab 44 n.Chr. von einem ranghöheren ritterlichen *procurator* geleitet, die stets der Oberaufsicht der syrischen Statthalter unterstanden. Zwischen den Jahren 66 und 70 (Zerstörung des Jerusalemer Tempels) bzw. 73/74 n.Chr. (Eroberung der Festung Masada) wurden weiträumige Aufstände des jüdischen Bevölkerungsteils niedergeschlagen, die sowohl im römischen Provinzterritorium, das bei Ausbruch des Kriegs dem ritterlichen Prokurator Gessius Florus unterstand, als auch in denjenigen Teilen Iudaeas ausgebrochen waren, die bereits Claudius und Nero dem Klientelkönig M. Iulius Agrippa II. Herodes insbesondere in Galiläa und der jüdischen Peraia anvertraut hatten.³ Während der jüdisch-römischen Auseinandersetzungen versuchte der romtreue Herodianer erfolglos als Schlichter aufzutreten. Schliesslich

* Dieser Beitrag entstand im Rahmen eines von der Gerda Henkel Stiftung finanzierten Habilitationsprojektes mit dem Titel *Symbolische Repräsentation imperialer Herrschaftsbereiche: Zur Darstellung unterworfenen Gebiete von den Achaimeniden bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*. Das relevante Münzexemplar in Abb. 1 wurde jüngst vom Israel Museum Jerusalem erworben. Eine Erstveröffentlichung der wichtigen Münze werden Hannah Cotton, Gil Gambash und Haim Gitler für die *Israel Numismatic Review* (2013) unter dem Titel *Iudaea Recepta – a New Aureus of Vespasian* vornehmen.

¹ Es handelt sich um das eigentliche Iudaea, Idumaea, Samaria einschliesslich der Städte Kaisareia, Samaria-Sebaste, Jerusalem und Joppa; dazu Vitale (2013) 31-32.

² Eck (2006) 23-24; Vitale (2013) 31-32.

³ Dazu etwa RPC 1, 684; Levick 1999, 27-30.

im Jahre 70 n.Chr. wurde Iudaea eigenen Statthaltern im Range von *legati pro praetore* unterstellt,⁴ erst unter Nerva wurde auch das Klientelgebiet Agrippas II. nach dessen Tod mit eingezogen.

Noch viele Jahre nach der Befriedung der Provinz Iudaea und den östlich und nördlich davon angrenzenden Klientelgebieten Agrippas II. wurde an diesen Sieg in zahlreichen verschiedenen Prägetypen erinnert.⁵ Beispielsweise Münzen mit der Büstendarstellung von Titus aus dem Jahren 77/78, 79/80 und 80/81 n.Chr. (Abb. 7) zeigen, von der Legende *Iudaea capta* umrandet, eine Palme in der Bildmitte, die rechts von einer sitzenden trauernden weiblichen Figur, hingegen links von einem Haufen Waffen, nämlich einem Brustpanzer, zwei Schilden, zwei Helmen und einem Speer flankiert ist; die Bildszene gerade auf Erinnerungsmünzen eines der römischen Hauptfeldherren gegen die jüdischen Aufständischen erscheint sowohl bildsymbolisch als auch textlich wohl nicht zufällig als überaus militärisch aufgeladen.

So wie im Falle der Annexion einer neuen Provinz — zumeist durch die Legende *capta* verkündet (z.B. *Aegypto capta* nach der Schlacht bei Actium) — bzw. des Siegs über die dem Provinzterritorium ausserhalb stehenden barbarischen Stämme — zumeist durch Legenden wie etwa *devictis Germanis* oder [Victoria] *de Germanis* bzw. *de Britannis* verkündet —, wurden auch nach den Ereignissen in Iudaea bildmotivisch trauernde an Tropaia bzw. Palmen, sitzend oder stehend, angelehnte sowohl weibliche als auch männliche Kriegsgefangene dargestellt (Abb. 3-7). Einige Bildszenen zeigen gar den siegreichen Kaiser selbst oder die Göttin Victoria (Abb. 6) einem jüdischen Kriegsgefangenen gegenüberstehend. In vergleichsweise seltenen und relativ späten (72/73 n.Chr.) Vespasian-Prägungen erscheint, geradezu als Kontrast zur Aussage *Iudaea recepta*, lediglich ein mit Waffen behangenes Tropaion mit der Legende [Victoria] *DE IVDAEIS* (Abb. 8) in Analogie zu den Formulierungen [Victoria] *DE BRITANNIS*⁶ sowie [Victoria] *DE GERMANIS*⁷ in der Münzprägung von Claudius.

Abgesehen von der Aufschrift *Iudaea*, welche die Personifikation der Provinz bezeichnet (Abb. 5), und die überaus häufige Legende *Victoria*

⁴ Die Eingliederung Iudaeas in die Provinz Syria und dessen Verwaltung behandelt eingehend Eck (2007) 1-53; vgl. auch Millar (1993) 43-49; 61-69; 76-77; Levick (1999) 25-39; Sartre (2001) 536-554; Vitale (2013) 31-34.

⁵ Vgl. allgemein zur Iudaea-Thematik in Münzprägungen etwa Toynbee (1934) 117-121; Méthy (1992) 271-274; Cody (2003) 103-123.

⁶ *RIC*² 1, 123 Nr. 30; 33-34 sowie ebd., 131 Nr. 122.

⁷ *RIC*² 1, 122-123 Nr. 3; 35; 125 Nr. 69-74; 132 Nr. 126.

Augusti zur Verkündung des kaiserlichen Triumphs (Abb. 6), tragen allerdings die bislang bekannten Münzlegenden *Iudaea capta* (erobertes Iudaea), *Iudaea devicta* (besiegt Iudaea) und *de Iudaeis* ([Sieg] über die Judaeer) in der Siegespropaganda der Flavier der historischen bzw. juristisch-administrativen Sachlage nicht hinreichend Rechnung. Denn die bestehende Provinz war weder *ex novo* erobert noch waren irgendein Klienteldynast oder eine auswärtige Völkerschaft besiegt und unterworfen worden.

Die bisherige Quellenlage täuscht jedoch, denn ein der Forschung bislang weitgehend unbekanntes erst jüngst im Kunsthandel bezeugtes Münzexemplar liefert uns nicht nur ein neues Bildmotiv, sondern eine neue Münzlegende, nämlich *Iudaea recepta* (wiedergewonnenes Iudaea).⁸

VS: IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG
RS: IUDAEA – RECEPTA



Abb. 1: Photo: Numismatica Ars Classica, Auktion 72, 16.05.2013 Nr. 621; Aureus 7, 10 g.

Es handelt sich um einen Aureus mit der vorderseitigen Büste und einer minimalen Titulatur Vespasians (*Imperator Caesar Vespasianus Augustus*). Der Fundkontext ist leider unbekannt (Fundmünze? Hortfund?). Die stehende weibliche Figur auf der Münzvorderseite stellt höchstwahrscheinlich eine Personifikation Iudaeas dar, denn es fehlt der in anderen Serien abgebildete männliche Kriegsgefangene (vgl. Abb. 3).⁹ Diese

⁸ Der Online-Katalog, der die Münze erstmals ediert (Numismatica Ars Classica, Auktion 72 vom 16./17. Mai 2013), bietet auf 67 Zeilen eine ausführliche Beschreibung des Exemplars mit zahlreichen weiterführenden Hinweisen sowie dem Verweis auf das Graffito des Münzrevers.

⁹ Vgl. dazu Toynbee (1934) 118; Méthy (1992) 271-272.

Personifikation Iudaeas steht auf der neunten Prägung mit verschränkten Beinen — einem singulären Detail — in Klagehaltung rechts neben einer Palme, die auch in einigen weiteren Prägetypen nahezu immer in der Bildmitte erscheint (Abb. 3-4; 6-7). Offenbar konnte die Palme in diesem Kontext bildsymbolisch das in anderen *Iudaea*-Prägungen anzutreffende und bereits häufig in der spätrepublikanischen und augusteischen Bildpropaganda abgebildete Tropaion ersetzen.¹⁰ Im Abschnitt unter dem Reversbild sind zwei Lambda nebeneinander ($\Lambda\Lambda$) eingeritzt, deren Bedeutung und zeitliche Einordnung sich ohne Kenntnis des genauen Fundkontextes und ohne vergleichende Untersuchungen nicht genau bestimmen lassen.¹¹ Die Häufigkeit solcher Graffiti auf griechischen und römischen bzw. byzantinischen Münzen aus den syrischen Provinzen besagt jedenfalls, dass unser Münzexemplar in der Levante wenigstens zeitweise zirkulierte bzw. gar dort gehortet wurde.

Auch wenn in der kaiserlichen Titulatur IMP(ERATOR) CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG(USTUS) eine Konsulatsangabe sowie andere Amtsfunktionen des Princeps fehlen, gehört die Prägung am ehesten in die früheste Phase der Regierung Vespasians. Nahezu alle bekannten Münzvorderseiten mit dieser blanken Titulatur lassen sich aufgrund der Konsulatsangaben auf den Münzrückseiten in die Jahre zwischen 69 und 71 n.Chr. datieren.¹² Dazu passt, dass Vespasians Büste auf dem neuen Münzexemplar noch nicht seiner in Plastiken und Münzen standardisierten vom heruntersackenden Doppelkinn und den hängenden vollen Wangen gekennzeichneten Physiognomie entspricht.¹³

Eine gründliche Untersuchung der vorderseitigen Stempel wird für eine genauere Datierung der Münze gewiss aufschlussreich sein. Dies betrifft zugleich die Frage, welche der vielen aktiven Reichsprägestätten unter Vespasian die Serie des uns vorliegenden Exemplars schlug. Für die Prägung von Aurei kommen jedenfalls Rom, Tarraco, Lugdunum, Antiocheia und Alexandreia in Frage (aus den Prägestätten im Illyricum und aus Ephesos stammen nur sehr wenige Goldnominale). Von diesen Prägestätten weisen wiederum Rom und Lugdunum die häufigsten Edelmetall-Serien im Zusammenhang mit der *Iudaea*-Thematik auf. Zumindest eine annähernde Stempelähnlichkeit lässt sich aufgrund der

¹⁰ Zur symbolischen Bedeutung der Palme vgl. Moresino-Zipper (2011).

¹¹ Vgl. dazu etwa Elayi & Lemaire (1998) 15-38 mit Liste der griechischen Graffiti (S. 20-29).

¹² *RIC* 2, 15-18 Nr. 1-28; vgl. *RIC*² 2, 58-60 Nr. 1-6 und 15-30; dazu Kommentar S. 19 (T.V. Buttrey).

¹³ Zur Portraittierung Vespasians zusammenfassend Levick (1999) 208-209.

jugendlichen Portraituren Vespasians, dem Bandmuster (nahezu gestrichelter Perlenkreis), der Form der Buchstaben und deren Anordnung im Verhältnis zum Lorbeerkranz mit wenigen Silber- und Goldprägungen beobachten, die der Prägestätte Rom zugewiesen und im Jahr 69/70 n.Chr. datiert sind (siehe die Münzaversen in Abb. 5 und 9).

Diese angesichts des grossen Prägevolumens flavischer *Iudaea*-Münzen offenbar seltene Münze Vespasians bringt der Quellenlage durch die Legende *Iudaea recepta* zum ersten Mal nach Jahrzehnten wissenschaftlicher Beschäftigung mit der flavischen Bildpropaganda im Kontext des Jüdischen Kriegs eine Formulierung bei, die mit der Niederschlagung des Aufstands und Befriedung der Provinz Iudaea vielmehr übereinstimmt als die bislang bekannten Aufschriften *Iudaea capta*, *Iudaea devicta* und [Victoria] *de Iudaeis*. Im Gegensatz zu solchen Legenden war nämlich Iudaea als *recepta* lediglich 'wiedergewonnen' worden, weil es als Provinz bereits seit augusteischer Zeit bestand. Die neue Legende kann demnach aus historisch-administrativer Sicht 'rechtliche Korrektheit' beanspruchen.

Die formelhafte Wendung *Iudaea recepta* wurde von einer Vorlage aus augusteischer Zeit übernommen und adaptiert. Die Formel *recepta*, vor allem in Kombination mit Gebietsnamen, wurde nämlich erstmals in Prägungen unter Augustus in Verbindung mit dem Bürgerkrieg gegen Marcus Antonius (*Asia recepta*)¹⁴ und den diplomatischen Zwischenspielen mit den Parthern und deren Verbündeten in Grossarmenien (*Signis receptis*; *Armenia recepta*) verwendet.¹⁵ Die entsprechenden Bildmotive der augusteischen Siegespropaganda, etwa die *cista mystica* als Symbol der wiedergewonnenen Provinz Asia oder der die Feldzeichen überreichende kniende Parther fanden als zentrale Bildmotive in der flavischen Bildpropaganda Eingang.¹⁶ Analog dazu wurde offensichtlich auch in dieser neuen Prägung Vespasians ein wesentliches Repräsentationselement der augusteischen Münzmissionen übernommen,¹⁷ nämlich die besondere Münzlegende *recepta*.

Im Vergleich jedoch zu den vornehmlich mit *Iudaea capta* bzw. *devicta* versehenen Prägungen macht die Aussage *Iudaea recepta* nur einen kleinen Bruchteil des gesamten Volumens an flavischen *Iudaea*-Prägungen

¹⁴ Dazu Winkler-Horaček (2010) 463-464; vgl. etwa *RIC*² 1, 61 Nr. 276.

¹⁵ *Signis receptis*: etwa *RIC*² 1, 62 Nr. 287-289; *Armenia capta*: etwa *RIC*² 1, 62 Nr. 290; 63 Nr. 306-307; 82 Nr. 513-516.

¹⁶ *Cista mystica*: etwa *RIC*² 2, 114 Nr. 775-776; Parther mit Feldzeichen: etwa *RIC*² 2, 128 Nr. 959.

¹⁷ Zur Nachahmung augusteischer Siegespropaganda durch die flavischen Kaiser etwa Cody (2003) 123.

aus. Aufgrund der frühen Datierung der Prägung, dürfte die Formulierung *Iudaea recepta* eine der ersten Versionen von Münzlegenden dargestellt haben, die in den Reichsprägungen die Befriedung der Provinz Iudaea verkündeten. Weshalb aber sind für den gesamten Zeitraum bis zur Alleinherrschaft von Titus bisher ausschliesslich alle anderen Münzlegenden, teils sehr zahlreich, bezeugt? Dies kann nicht einzig an der Quellenlage liegen.

Gerade das Phänomen der Umformulierung einer Münzlegende, mithin die Veränderung deren politischen Aussage, von der ursprünglichen Version *recepta* zu den aus militärischer Sichtweise propagandistisch wohl wirksameren Formulierungen *capta* und *devicta* lässt sich bereits für die augusteische Siegespropaganda des Jahres 19/18 v.Chr. im Zusammenhang mit Grossarmenien registrieren. Münzrückseiten nämlich, die frontal einen stehenden mit Speer und Bogen bewaffneten armenischen Krieger in weiten Hosen, Obergewand und Tiara zeigen, führten ursprünglich nur die Legende ARMEN(IA) RECEP(TA). Erst durch nachträgliches Umschneiden der Prägestempel ist auf typengleichen Münzen auch ARMEN(IA) CAPTA zu lesen. M. Spannagel konnte auf den betreffenden Exemplaren Reste der getilgten Buchstaben R und E bzw. im C den Querhaken eines ursprünglichen P erkennen.¹⁸ Auf diese Umarbeitung hin folgten in der Reichsprägung ausschliesslich Prägetypen mit der Botschaft *Armenia capta*.¹⁹

RS: CAESAR DIV(I) F(ILIVS) ARMEN(IA) RECEPTA IMP VIII



Abb. 2a: Photo: Numismatica Ars Classica, Auktion 52, 07.10.2009 Nr. 305; AR Denarius 3, 81 g; Ref: *RIC*² 1, 83 Nr. 518.

¹⁸ Spannagel (2000) 622-623.

¹⁹ Gemäss Sutherland (1973) 134-136 Nr. 26-47 führt lediglich einer der zwölf im Osten hergestellten Prägestempel die Wendung *Armenia recepta* — die übrigen elf lauten *Armenia capta*.

RS: CAESAR DIV(I) F(ILIVS) ARMEN(IA) CAPTA IMP VIII[I]



Abb. 2b: Photo: Numismatica Ars Classica, Auktion 52, 07.10.2009 Nr. 306; AR 3, 76 g; Ref: RIC² 1, 83 Nr. 519.

Anhand dieser beiden augusteischen Siegesprägungen lässt sich ein Perspektivenwechsel im offiziell veranschlagten Standpunkt des Kaiserhauses bezüglich der Vorgänge in Grossarmenien nachvollziehen. Entgegen der Aussage *Armenia capta* war das Königreich Grossarmenien nicht annektiert, sondern dessen von den Parthern begünstigter Herrscher Artaxias II. war abgesetzt und vom neuen romtreuen Klientelkönig Tigranes III. ersetzt worden.²⁰ Auf diese Sachlage trifft bestenfalls die ursprüngliche Münzlegende *Armenia recepta* zu.²¹ Dennoch wurden die Vorgänge nachträglich in allen folgenden Münzprägungen als regelrechte Eroberung mit der neuen Legende *Armenia capta* deklamiert. Ein Nachhall dieser die Sachlage verzerrenden *capta*-Propaganda findet sich womöglich in Augustus' Tatenbericht wieder, indem die Einsetzung des neuen Dynasten in Grossarmenien dahingehend geschildert wird, dass der Princeps es vorzog, das Land nicht in eine Provinz umzuwandeln.²²

²⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 2.3; dazu Redgate (1998) 76-78; die genaue Identität und Regierungsdaten dieses Tigranes unter Augustus lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit festlegen; vgl. dazu den Kommentar in *RPC* 1, 570-571.

²¹ Vgl. Spannagel (2000) 624.

²² *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* §27: *Aegyptum imperio populi [Ro]mani adieci. Armeniam maiorum, interfecto rege eius Artaxe, c[u]m possem facere provinciam, malui maiorum nostrorum exemplo regn[u]m id Tigrani, regis Artavasdis filio, nepoti autem Tigranis regis, per [Ti. Ne]ironem trad[er], qui tum mihi priv[ig]nus erat. Et eandem gentem postea d[e]sciscientem et rebellantem domit[a]m per Gaium filium meum regi Ariobarzani, regis Medorum Artaba[zi] filio, regendam tradidi et post eius mortem filio eius Artavasdi. Quo interfecto, Tig[ra]nem qui erat ex regio genere Armeniorum oriundus, in id regnum misi.*

Die einschlägige Analogie mit der Abfolge von *recepta*- zu *capta*-Prägungen unter Augustus in Verbindung mit dem Dynastiewechsel in Grossarmenien bestärkt unsere Einschätzung, dass die neue Münze mit der Rückseitenlegende *Iudaea recepta* und dem relativ jugendlichen Portrait Vespasians am ehesten in der Anfangsphase der in Münzprägungen fassbaren *Iudaea*-Thematik zu verorten ist. Damit ergibt sich eine Abfolge in der Verwendung der relevanten flavischen Münzlegenden, die mit der Aussage *Iudaea recepta* beginnt und mit *Iudaea capta*, bezeichnenderweise in einer Prägung von Titus, endet: *Iudaea recepta* – *Iudaea* – *Iudaea capta* – *Iudaea devicta* – *Victoria Augusti* – *de Iudaeis* – *Iudaea capta*. Die Frage, welche dieser Versionen der Niederschlagung des Jüdischen Aufstands mit den Darstellungen in der literarischen Überlieferung übereinstimmen bzw. ob solche Formeln im Schrifttum überhaupt Eingang fanden, soll in einem breiteren Rahmen untersucht werden.²³

Abschliessend können wir mit einem Ausblick auf die umfassende Beschäftigung mit der flavischen Siegesthematik folgende Problemunkte festhalten: Obwohl die flavischen Kaiser die Niederschlagung der Jüdischen Aufstände sowohl bildmotivisch (*Victoria* – *Tropaion* – *Kriegsgefangene*) als auch durch die Verwendung der Legenden *Iudaea capta* bzw. *devicta* (vgl. *Dacia capta* unter Traian) und [*Victoria*] *de Iudaeis* verkünden liessen, als wäre es die Annexion einer neuen Provinz bzw. der Sieg über eine auswärtige Völkerschaft, waren sich die Kaiser offenbar bewusst, dass es sich grundsätzlich um eine provinzzinterne Angelegenheit handelte: trotz des *de Iudaeis triumphus* von Vespasian und Titus,²⁴ bedeutete die Befriedung der Provinz *Iudaea* keine eigentliche *Victoria de gentibus*, also keinen Sieg über provinz-externe Feinde.²⁵

Diesen Befund legen mehrere Beobachtungen nahe: Die endgültige Niederwerfung der aufständischen Provinzialen in *Iudaea* wurde weder in Inschriften noch in der Münzprägung explizit als *Victoria Iudaica* zelebriert, so wie nur wenige Jahrzehnte später nahezu alle Feldzüge

²³ Vgl. M. Vitale, *Symbolische Repräsentation imperialer Herrschaftsbereiche: Zur Darstellung unterworfenen Gebiete von den Achaimeniden bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*, Kap. 'Von der Darstellung des Kriegsgefangenenpaars zur Personifikation' [Habilitationsschrift, in Vorbereitung].

²⁴ Suet. *Vesp.* 8.1; vgl. Suet. *Tit.* 5.1; Ios. *bell. Iud.* 1.27; Cass. Dio 65.12.1a.

²⁵ Dazu eingehend Fink (1942) 81-101; vgl. auch Levick (1999) 71 zu den Triumphen.

gegen aussenstehende Völkerschaften erscheinen (*Victoria Dacica*, *Victoria Parthica*, *Victoria Germanica* usw.). Dementsprechend lässt sich auf der kultischen Ebene auch kein *sacerdos Victoriae Iudaicae* nachweisen, wie etwa im Gegensatz dazu der in Korinth (Achaia) bezeugte *sacerdos Victoriae Britannicae* unter Claudius.²⁶ Auch sind interessanterweise keine entsprechenden Siegerbeinamen in den kaiserlichen Titulaturen der Flavier überliefert; wegen des Ausbleibens des Siegestitels *Iudaicus* drückte noch Cassius Dio aus seiner spätkaiserzeitlichen Perspektive Verwunderung aus.²⁷

Angesichts der intensiven Iudaea-Siegespropaganda der Flavier in Münzprägungen und Triumphmonumenten greift allerdings B. Levicks Erklärung zu kurz, dass das Veranschlagen der blossen Rückgewinnung einer derart kleinen Provinz wie Iudaea in Form eines Siegerbeinamens wahrscheinlich auch Spott hätte ernten können.²⁸ Im Gegenteil, die ‘Rückgewinnung’ (*recepta*) der Provinz Iudaea wurde ja, wie die neue Münzlegende beweist, ausdrücklich als solche deklariert. Überzeugender ist daher die Annahme von P. Kneissl, wonach zumindest Vespasian “dem Beispiel des Augustus folgend, keinen Siegerbeinamen annahm”.²⁹ Allerdings lässt sich ohne sicheren epigraphischen oder literarischen Hinweis nicht nachverfolgen, ob Vespasian oder Titus ein Siegestitel wie *Iudaicus* überhaupt jemals angeboten wurde.

Die Gründe dürften also anderswo zu suchen sein. Auffälligerweise sind nämlich für die Zeit der Samtherrschaft der Flavier gar keine Siegestitel überliefert, die ihre zahlreichen gemeinsamen militärischen

²⁶ Vgl. Fink (1942) 89-90 mit Anm. 42; ferner Eck (2000); Witschel (2011) 79-80.

²⁷ Unter den Severern sowie den Soldatenkaisern erfuhr die Vergabe von Siegerbeinamen bereits eine relevante Inflation, indem nämlich alle Siegeltitel durch den Zusatz *maximus* in der Superlativform gesteigert wurden): vgl. dazu M. Vitale, ‘Magnus-Maximus: Alexander-imitatio oder inflationäre Vergrößerung kaiserlicher Titulaturen?’, *Hermes* 143 (2015) [im Druck]; Cass. Dio 66.7.2: οὕτω μὲν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν μάλιστα ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαῖοι σέβουσιν, ἐξώλετο. καὶ ἀπ’ ἐκείνου δίδραχμον ἐτάχθη τοὺς τὰ πατρία αὐτῶν ἔθνη περιστέλλοντας τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Διὶ κατ’ ἔτος ἀποφέρειν. καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα ἀμφοτέροι ἐλαβον, τὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ οὐδέτερος ἔσχε· καίτοι τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτοῖς, ὅσα ἐπὶ τηλικαύτῃ νίκῃ εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ ἀντίδες τροπαιοφόροι ἐψηφίσθησαν.

²⁸ Levick (1999) 71: “They refused the title ‘Iudaicus’: they had reconquered a small rebellious province, and the name would have laid them open to the mocking charge of being proselytes; perhaps the offer was made tongue in cheek”; gänzlich zu verwerfen ist die Aussage von Gsell (1893) 224 Anm. 1, dass Vespasian auf den Siegestitel *Iudaicus* verzichtete, weil die Juden allgemein verachtet waren (“à cause du mépris qu’inspiraient les Juifs”).

²⁹ Kneissl (1969) 43.

Operationen widerspiegelt hätten, wie beispielsweise *Batavicus*, *Britannicus*, *Commagenicus* oder eben *Iudaicus*. Bedenkenswert ist dabei der Umstand, dass es sich in all diesen Fällen um Feldzüge handelte, die entweder in bereits eingerichteten Provinzen (Germania Inferior, Britannia, Iudaea) erfolgten oder die endgültige Annexion eines bereits zuvor provinzialisierten Klientelgebiets betrafen (*Commagene*).³⁰

Im Unterschied dazu beanspruchte Domitian als allein herrschender Augustus den Siegerbeinamen *Germanicus* seit dem Jahre 83/84 n.Chr. aufgrund eines Sieges gegen die Chatten.³¹ Die Unterscheidung zwischen externen Feinden einerseits und provinz-internen Feinden andererseits scheint also unter den Flaviern für die Formulierung der entsprechenden Siegesrhetorik relevant gewesen zu sein. Genau in diese Richtung weist auch die hier vorgestellte neue Münzlegende *Iudaea recepta*.

Abbildungen (3-8)

VS: IMP CAES VESPAS AVG P M
TR P P P COS III [71 N. CHR.]
RS: IVDAEA CAPTA - SC



Abb. 3:

Photo: Ira & Larry Goldberg Coins
& Collectibles, Auktion 72,
05.02.2013 Nr. 4140; AE Sesterz 33,
5 g; Ref: *RIC*² 2, 71 Nr. 159-160.

VS: IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS
AVG TR P [71 N. CHR.]
RS: IVDAEA DEVICTA



Abb. 4:

Photo: Ira & Larry Goldberg Coins
& Collectibles, Inc., Auktion 41,
27.05.2007 Nr. 2799; AR 2, 52 g;
Ref: *RIC*² 2, 140 Nr. 1119-1120.

³⁰ Zumindest in Bezug auf die Siegesrepräsentation bildete Iudaea offenbar eine Ausnahme, denn es sind bisher keine flavischen Siegesprägungen bekannt, die explizit *Batavi*, *Britanni* oder *Commageni* in irgendeiner Form erwähnen.

³¹ Vgl. Kneissl (1969) 43-57, insbes. 43-44; gefolgt von Kienast (2004) 40 und W. Eck, Rez. zu P. Kneissl, Siegestitulatur, *Gnomon* 44 (1972) 171-176.

VS: IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS
A[VG]
RS: IUDAEA



Abb. 5

Photo: Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger,
Auktion 287, 07.02.2013 Nr. 2226;
AR 3, 36 g; Ref: *RIC*² 2, 58 Nr. 1-2.

VS: IMP CAES VESPASIAN AVG
PM TR P P P COS III
[71 n. Chr.]
RS: VICTORIA AVGVSTI - S C



Abb. 6

Photo: Heritage World Coin
Auctions, CICF Signature Sale 3024,
18.04.2013 Nr. 24865; AE Sesterz
32, 09 mm; 26, 03 g; Ref: *RIC*² 2,
83 Nr. 362-363.

VS: T CAES IMP AVG F TR P
COS VI CENSOR
[77/78 n. Chr.]
RS: IUDAEA CAPTA



Abb. 7

Photo: Gemini, LLC Auktion IX,
08.01.2012 Nr. 417; AE 10, 47 g;
Ref: *RIC*² 2, 148 Nr. 1268; vgl. mit
der Titulatur IMP T CAES VESP
AVG PM TR P PP COS VIII jeweils
aus den Jahren 80 und 81 n. Chr.
*RIC*² 2, 208 Nr. 145; 149.

VS: IMP CAES VESPAS AVG PM
TRP IIII PP COS IIII
[72/73 n. Chr.]
RS: DE IUDAEIS



Abb. 8

Photo: Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH
& Co. KG, Auktion 204, 12.03.2012
Nr. 569; AVR 7, 27 g; Ref: *RIC*² 2,
143 Nr. 1179.



Abb. 9

Photo: Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH
& Co. KG, Auktion 236, 07.10.2013
Nr. 989; AVR 7, 19 g; Ref: *RIC*² 2,
60 Nr. 28.

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MILESTONES AND INSTABILITY (MID-THIRD TO EARLY FOURTH CENTURIES AD)*

Abstract: Traditionally milestones of all periods of imperial history were thought to attest road construction or repair, and some believe that they were composed or sanctioned by central authorities or even the emperor himself. Others have persuasively argued that later stones are often unrelated to roadworks or official propaganda. The scholarly community remains nonetheless evenly split between those who hold on to the traditional view and those who do not. This article is the first to demonstrate mathematically that the disproportionately strong representation of short-lived emperors of the mid-third to early fourth century cannot be a coincidence and that milestone erection increasingly peaks when governors or local authorities felt a need to demonstrate their political allegiance, notably after the accession of new emperors and imperial princes. Local initiative accounts for distinct regional differences in chronology and wording of milestone inscriptions. One of the most common inscribed monuments of this period thus provides evidence for political instability rather than maintenance of traffic infrastructure.

I. MILESTONES AS BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS?

It is frequently assumed that Roman milestones from all ages were set up, exclusively or predominantly, on the occasion of building or maintenance work on Roman roads. Symptomatic is Sheppard Frere's assessment of the significance of milestones in Roman Britain: "Milestones were usually erected to commemorate the building or repair of roads, and though the survival of these is uneven in different parts of the country, their evidence points to a steady programme of construction and

* My interest in milestones was first sparked when I had an opportunity to assist the late Professor Gerold Walser in the compilation of *CIL* XVII for Dalmatia at Freiburg University in 1993-1995. Subsequently I published a case study (Sauer (1998)), further developed my ideas and spoke on this topic on various occasions, e.g. at the British Epigraphy Society Spring Colloquium at Edinburgh in 2007 (*BES Newsletter* 17 (2007) 13-14) and at Melrose in 2008 (*Trimontium Trumpet* 23 (2009) 7-8). Long delayed by a series of other projects, I only found the time to produce this written synthesis of my research now. I am indebted to Professor Timothy Barnes, Professor Anthony Birley, Dr Gavin Kelly and two anonymous reviewers of *Ancient Society* for their kind and detailed comments on this article and for having saved me from linguistic and factual imperfections, though they are not responsible for any that may remain.

maintenance down to the middle of the fourth century.”¹ Numerous other scholars have proposed similar theories for other parts of the Late Empire, but there is no space here to discuss these individually.²

Others have expressed doubts that all late milestones still attest road repairs and have persuasively argued that they are often mere dedications paying tribute to the reigning emperor(s), unrelated to any roadworks.³ Even for late specimens, however, scholarly opinion remains split between those who consider them all building inscriptions and those who do not, the latter mostly not committing themselves as to how great or small the relative proportion of pure dedications was. This is not the first study to challenge the widely-held traditional view, that milestones in later Roman history still invariably attest roadworks or were intended to guide travellers to their destination. It is, however, the first to apply a systematic statistical approach to selected groups of milestones, which sheds significant new light on the prevalence of the phenomenon. Distinct differences in the frequency of milestone dedications emerge over space and time, which shed fascinating light on how communities in different parts of the Empire reacted to the political challenges posed by the constant changes of government.

Such a systematic approach is essential, as evidence has emerged which might at first sight support the traditional view that even late milestones tend to attest roadworks. A milestone of AD 46 from Rabland, near Merano,⁴ and another from Cesiomaggiore, near Feltre, of the

¹ Frere (1987) 291.

² Ando (2000) 322-323; Balty (2008) 145-146; Bărbulescu e.a. (2008) especially 178-179; Bekker-Nielsen (2004) 112; Alarcão (1988) I 51; Fodorean (2004); Foss (1977) 482; Glavaš (2011) 172; Grewe (1995) 352-354; Haegemans (2010) 69-73; Heinz (2003) 41, 65; Hitchner (2012) 228; Keppie (1991) 30, 66-67; Kunow (1987) 86; Lorient (2006) 408; Parker (2006) I 16; Preshlenov (2012) 56; Schneider (1935) 425; Zahariade (2006) 44-45, 49. According to Basso (1987a) 225 & (1987b), Herzig (1974) 640 & (1989) 69, Lostal Pros (1992) 272 and Mottas & Decourt (1997) 327 with no. 93, 329, some late antique milestones probably attest roadworks, whilst others do not.

³ Particularly important has been the recent work of Rathmann (2003) 120-135, especially 127. Rathmann argues persuasively that in the third century neither nominative nor specific references to repairs offer firm proof of actual roadworks. Questions remain though whether dedicatory milestones account for the majority or just a minority of those in the dative, nominative and those explicitly referring to repairs. On some milestones as dedicatory monuments see also Alföldy (1967) 40; Conti (2004) 36; Dietz & Pietsch (1997) 131-132; Klee (2010) 72-76; König (1973); Nesselhauf (1962); Pekáry (1968) 16-22; Salama (1951b) 74-75; Sillières (1986); Vavassori (2003); Vismara e.a. (2011) 31; Walser (1985) 58-63; Winkler (1985) 15-17; Witschel (1999) 71 no. 67, 345; *id.* (2002).

⁴ *CIL* V 8003 = XVII.4, 1 = Basso (1987a) no. 41 = Walser (1983) 74 no. 18, 106 fig. 17; *id.* (1980); Grabherr (2006) 64; Rosada (2002) 39; Walde & Grabherr (2002) 232-233.

beginning of the next year⁵ both inform us that Claudius had paved or repaired the *Via Claudia*, a major Alpine traffic route opened by his father, Drusus, after pacifying the Alps through war in 15 BC. Excavations at Lermoos, where the *Via Claudia* had to negotiate boggy terrain, have brought to light a timber substructure of the road, dated by dendro-chronology to precisely the time the milestones had been inscribed, i.e. AD 46.⁶ Archaeological evidence from the same site also shows that the road was repaved repeatedly, in AD 74, 95, 102, 279, 327/333 and 374.⁷ Of course, this stretch of road may have been in particular need of maintenance, as it led across boggy terrain, but it is not unique in revealing evidence for repeated repaving.⁸ The *Via Claudia* has also yielded a series of milestones of the third and fourth centuries, up to AD 387/388 in Venetia et Histria and up to AD 363 in Raetia (Secunda).⁹ While the chronology of these milestones mostly does not match the dendro-dated episodes of road maintenance, they could in theory refer to repair work at other sections of this long road, while the phases of repaving attested at Lermoos in Raetia without epigraphic corroboration might have been commemorated on lost milestones, if we bear in mind that no more than a small fraction of them survived.¹⁰ Are the continued erection of milestones and the material evidence for roadworks up to the second half of the fourth century testimonies of the same phenomenon? The evidence from this important cross-Alpine traffic artery led Helmut Bender to argue that it had perhaps been somewhat premature to dismiss fourth-century milestones as imperial propaganda unrelated to any actual building programme.¹¹ There is, of course, no question but that roads and bridges continued to be repaired throughout imperial history and that such works were occasionally commemorated via milestones, as well as

⁵ *CIL* V 8002 = Basso (1987a) no. 36; Grabherr (2006) 65; Rosada (2002) 39; Walde & Grabherr (2002) 232; Walser (1980) 452-453 argues for an original compilation of the text in AD 46 and partial amendment early in AD 47, the sixth tribunician power and fourth consulship on their own might point to a date between 1 and 24 January AD 47.

⁶ Grabherr (2006) 59, 63, 130-131; Stefano (2002) 212; Walde & Grabherr (2002) 227; Czysz (2002) 245-247.

⁷ Grabherr (2006) 59, 63, 131-132; Stefano (2002) 212-213; Walde & Grabherr (2002) 227-228; Czysz (2002) 245-247.

⁸ Czysz & Dumler (2009).

⁹ *CIL* XVII.4, 1-30; V 8002-8003, 8047-8055; Walser (1983); Basso (2002) 343-346 & (2004) 288-292.

¹⁰ See Walser (1981) 386 on estimated survival rates.

¹¹ Bender (2000) 255.

other building inscriptions;¹² the question is whether such works account for the bulk, or just a minority, of late milestones.

Some of the most interesting examples of milestone inscriptions referring specifically to repair works come from North Africa. Torrents of water had hollowed out the roads and forced the people of Cuicul in Numidia to carry out repeated repairs (in AD 215/216, 222/235, 238/244, 244/249, 245 and 253). The earliest inscription, dedicated to Caracalla, is very specific: *Res pub(lica) Cuiculitanorum vias torrentibus exhaustas restituit ac novis munitionibus dilatavit*. This is repeated almost *verbatim* on the inscription of AD 222-235 and, it seems, that of AD 245, whilst the others omit the last four words referring to new layers of paving having been spread over the road. All the inscriptions make clear that it was the town itself which carried out the works.¹³ Road and bridge repairs, necessitated similarly by damage caused through rainfall and age, are recorded on the road between Cirta and Rusicade for AD 219, 220, c. 222, 239, 245/249, c. 250, 252/253 and 283/285.¹⁴

The scenario of road refurbishment described here is highly plausible. Swollen streams, landslides and erosion caused by heavy rain, not unusual for the area,¹⁵ could easily have damaged or washed away bridges and sections of road — all the more so if expansion of agricultural land and the ensuing destruction of natural plant cover, symptomatic of Rome's overexploitation of its natural resources,¹⁶ had accelerated the runoff of rain-water and thus exacerbated flooding. The North African provinces, whilst not entirely spared from armed conflict and economic downturn in the mid-third century,¹⁷ suffered probably considerably less than many other parts of the Empire. Did major floods, in the wake of human

¹² As rightly stressed by Witschel (2002) 326 no. 4, 328 no. 16; *CIL* IX 6059, 6066, XI 6328.

¹³ Salama (1951a) 215-219 no. 1 (corrected version of *AE* 1911.101), 220-223 no. 3 (= *AE* 1912.155), 226-227 no. 5, 228-229 no. 6 (= *CIL* VIII 22397), 230-232 (= *AE* 1911.104); *CIL* VIII 22399.

¹⁴ *CIL* VIII 10298-10299, 10302, 10304, 10308-10309, 10312, 10314-10316, 10318, 10320, 10323 = 22365, 22371-22373, 22379; cf. Salama (1951a) 217 & (2002) 134-137.

¹⁵ Salama (1951a) 216-219, cf. 265; Tert., *Ad Scapulam* 3.2; SHA, *Gordiani* 16.2; Haensch & Mackensen (2011) especially no. 56.

¹⁶ Haas (2006).

¹⁷ There is no space here to discuss to what extent the conventional term 'Third Century Crisis' is an appropriate description for the period in question (AD 235-284/285). Witschel (1999), especially 375, has rightly pointed out that the term 'crisis' may be more appropriate for the second half of period. There were significant geographic and chronological variations in the extent to which different provinces were affected by civil wars, invasions, adverse economic developments, insecurity, lesser investment in domestic and

interference with the natural environment, cause damage to the transport infrastructure throughout the century, less frequently perhaps after the epidemics and demographic decline of the 250s?¹⁸ Alternatively, did such problems peak under the Severan climax of North Africa's prosperity, the date of the earliest testimonies for roadworks caused by natural disasters? Did the later milestones simply reflect that a local tradition had developed that this is what had to be inscribed on a milestone? The identical or very similar wording of the latter series of milestones, *viam imbris et vetustate conlapsam cum pontibus restituit*, all from the same geographic area, but spanning more than 60 years, raises some doubts as to whether the latest milestones represent accurate factual reports or simply faithful copies of a formula used on earlier specimens on view.

There is thus no serious doubt that the early milestones on the *Via Claudia* across the Alps were indeed set up on the occasion of road construction or repair, just like at least the earliest of the cited third-century Numidian inscriptions and many other milestones of the Early and High Empire. Yet the questions explored in this paper are how rapidly and for what reasons their proportion diminished at the expense of what I will argue to be purely dedicatory inscriptions. More specifically, I seek to explore the function of milestones between the mid AD 230s and Constantine I, without excluding evidence predating and postdating this period of change.

II. DEDICATIONS TO THE EMPEROR OR MESSAGES BY THE EMPEROR?

To some extent, the text of the inscriptions themselves, even if concise, may provide clues about the nature of the monument. Those who erected the milestones are sometimes named: mostly they are governors¹⁹ or urban communities and occasionally military units.²⁰ There are regional and chronological differences, and the lack of uniformity in the formulation of the inscriptions suggests that the decision to set up milestones was in this period in most instances not taken on an imperial level, but either on a provincial or a local one.²¹ Even private individuals could set up milestones,

public buildings and settlement decline. It is clear though that the period was one of political instability, with reigns being on average much shorter than before or after.

¹⁸ Alföldy (1989) 295-318; Witschel (2004) 267-269.

¹⁹ Rathmann (2006); cf. Dietz & Pietsch (1997) 131-132.

²⁰ Rathmann (2003) especially 31-41 and Isaac (1998) 61-62, 65, with references.

²¹ Noreña (2011) 220-223.

such as a certain Flavinus, perhaps a local landowner, 29 miles north of Bracara Augusta, on the road from Lucus Augusti in the north-western Hispanic province of Gallaecia. He dedicated a milestone to Constans in the lifetime of his father Constantine I (AD 333-337), accidentally using the plural abbreviation for *dominis nostris*, whilst naming only a single emperor: DD NN | CONSTANTII | NOBILISSIMO | CAESARI | POSVIT | FLAVINVS | MILIARIVM | XXVIII: “To our lords (*sic!*), Constans, the most noble Caesar, Flavinus set up this milestone, 29 (miles from Bracara Augusta).” We do not know whether Flavinus only honoured Constans, perhaps on the occasion of his promotion to the rank of *Caesar*, or whether his co-emperors received separate milestones.²²

It has long been recognised that, as time passed, the initial nominative forms of imperial names and titles, used to portray the emperor as active road builder, were increasingly superseded by the dative, implying that the monument was dedicated to the emperor (as Flavinus’ stone to Constans), rather than having been set up on orders by the emperor. Milestones addressed to emperors in the dative could even express the dedicating community’s devotion to the emperor’s *numen* and *maiestas*.²³ This adulatory formula is also found on three of the milestones discussed above, explicitly referring to repair works necessitated by torrents of water in the vicinity of Cuicul.²⁴ If even milestones of such ostensibly dedicatory character could describe roadworks, whether real or not, copied from earlier stones, one wonders whether the use of the dative or nominative alone provide any clues as to the function of the monument. As Walser has observed, all Constantinian milestones from the Gallic and Germanic provinces carry dative formulae, while the nominative still occurs in this period elsewhere, such as in northern Italy and northern Africa²⁵ and on two amongst 16 milestones naming Constantine I or his sons from Britain.²⁶ As there is no good reason to assume

²² Rodríguez Colmenero e.a. (2004) no. 165 (unlikely to predate AD 334, as Constans was only proclaimed *Caesar* on 25/12/333); cf. p. 223, nos. 302, 306, 354, 525, 575.

²³ Rathmann (2003) 127-128 with no. 747; Sillières (1990) 157-158 no. 102 (= *CIL* II 2201) 794; Hirschfeld (1907) 178-179.

²⁴ Dedicated to Philippus alone, to Philippus and his son and to Aemilius Aemilianus and his wife: Salama (1951a) 226-227 no. 5, 228-229 (= *CIL* VIII 22397), 230-232 (= *AE* 1911.104), 265-268.

²⁵ Walser (1981) 391 with no. 50; cf. *id.* (1980) 441, 447; Salama (1987) 59, 197; Rathmann (2003) 120-135; Alföldy (1967) 39-43; *CIL* V 8014 (= Basso (1987a) no. 50, cf. table 1) 8963; VIII 22112; Basso (2008) 72. The ablative and, occasionally, the genitive are used too: see Rathmann (2003) *passim*.

²⁶ *RIB* I 2259 and 2302.

that road maintenance had ceased in Gaul, but continued in adjacent territories to the north and south, the question arises whether the use of the nominative or the dative really allows us to differentiate between monuments which portray the emperor as active road-builder and passive recipient of declarations of devotion — or whether it reflects evolving fashions and traditions on a regional level.

Not that much thought was necessarily given to the choice of grammatical case. Milestone inscriptions contain uncountable linguistic or factual mistakes, ranging from numerical errors in counting consulships and years of tribunician power to frequent misspellings of words, and even imperial names and titles. It seems that what mattered was demonstrating the correct political allegiance, not erudition — and it will have made little difference whether the dative or nominative was chosen, or indeed whether the grammar was right or wrong. A group of milestones from Cappadocia, originally naming the *Augusti* Pupienus and Balbinus and the *Caesar* Gordian III in the nominative, form an interesting example of this. After the former two had been murdered, having been in power for just 99 days in AD 238, and Gordian III proclaimed *Augustus*, their names were erased and replaced by the names and titles of Gordian III in the dative, yet the verb *restituerunt* (“they restored”), dependent on the three as acting subjects, was on most inscriptions left unaltered. There are several variants, and on some stones Gordian’s former rank as *nobilissimus Caesar* was left unchanged, as was the nominative.²⁷ The Cappadocian governor, Cuspidius Flaminus Severus, named on no fewer than 19 or 20 milestones, was evidently keen to hastily demonstrate his loyalty to Gordian III. Even leaving aside a milestone of his successor²⁸ (and a disputed milestone of his possible predecessor²⁹), we

²⁷ French (2008) 131-132; Boybeyi & Probst (2008) = *AE* 2008.1505 = *SEG* 58.1663; *CIL* III 6913, 6936, 12176, 12198; cf. 6953; French (1988), p. 509-10, nos. 11, 21, 507, 524, 532, 542, 546, 552, 558?, 562, 726, 730, 751, 760, 776 (cf. French (2008) 132) 786, 793, 795, 869 (cf. *AE* 2000.1479 = French (1981) 91 no. 60(C) = Berges & Nollé (2000) I 283 no. 126); cf. Rathmann (2006) 204, 245 with no. 261. Whilst ‘*restituerunt*’ could have been plastered over, the frequency of errors on milestones which could not have been amended by filling letters with plaster suggests that such mistakes were quite acceptable.

²⁸ Berges & Nollé (2000) I 283-284 no. 127 = *CIL* III 12213 = French (1988) 311 no. 868 = *id.* (1981) 91 no. 60(B). The upper part of the milestone with the emperor’s name is lost, but the attribution to Gordian III is probably correct: Dietz (1980) 136; Remy (1988) 123; Gerhardt & Hartmann (2008) 1112.

²⁹ *CIL* III 6924. Townsend (1955) attributed this stone to Gordian III whilst still *Caesar* under Pupienus and Balbinus. His restoration has been widely accepted: Dietz (1980) 122-123 no. 20a, 137-138 no. 30; Remy (1988) 123; Boybeyi & Probst (2008) 136 no. 4 with

observe a remarkable burst of activity during the short reign of Pupienus and Balbinus and in the aftermath of their demise. That provincial roads were in need of such a rapid succession of repairs seems unlikely, and we are left with the impression that some or all of Cappadocia's milestone inscriptions of AD 238 are unrelated to roadworks and are instead related to the rapid change in emperors and a governor's eagerness to be seen to please.

Military units in Pannonia also set up many third-century milestones, including the only surviving milestone of the *Augusti* Pupienus and Balbinus, jointly with the *Caesar* Gordian III, in Europe (the names of the former two later erased). The imperial trio had, according to this inscription, restored the roads and bridges, in a ruinous state as a result of their age, through the agency of *Legio I Adiutrix Pia Fidelis P(upiena) B(albina) G(ordiana)*. Gordian's name and title combined nominative and dative forms,³⁰ suggesting perhaps that the text has been inscribed in some haste. The milestone stood two miles from Brigetio, the fortress of the named legion, in Pannonia Superior. The military in Pannonia evidently wished to take credit for propagating their emperor's name and preferentially erected milestones in the vicinity of their bases.³¹ Those from Upper Pannonia are generally in the nominative and refer in almost identical wording to the restoration of roads and bridges, those from Lower Pannonia are in the dative and do not refer to roadworks.³² Christian Körner sees the milestones as evidence for bridge and road repairs in Pannonia, notably under Philippus Arabs (AD 244-249), necessitated by intense enemy pressure.³³ Yet, roads would not have been maintained only in Upper Pannonia and neglected at the same time in its

further references; Gerhardt & Hartmann (2008) 1111-1112. Recently, however, French (2008) 127-130 has tentatively proposed an alternative restoration of the inscription, attributing it to Macrinus and Diadumenianus, whilst still *Caesar* (AD 217-218), and questioning that the named governor is identical to Sextus Catus Clementinus Priscillianus, consul in AD 230. Leunissen (1989) 199 with no. 308 and further references, accepts the dating of the milestone to AD 238, but argues that the named governor was Catus Clemens, suffect consul in AD 235.

³⁰ *AE* 1994.1395 = Lörincz & Számadó (1994).

³¹ There is, furthermore, not a single third-century milestone from the German provinces naming a military unit, suggesting that milestone erection was driven by local traditions rather than imperial policies: Rathmann (2003) 38, cf. 126-127.

³² Compiled and discussed by Rathmann (2003) 35-38: Pannonia Inferior: *AE* 1953.12; 1975.701; *CIL* III 3708, 3742, 10619, 10624, 10639, 14354⁴, 14354⁵, 14354⁶, cf. 3707; Pannonia Superior: *AE* 1994.1395; *CIL* III 4626, 11326-11327, 11332, 11333b, 11334 = 4627, cf. 4642.

³³ Körner (2002) 143-144, with no. 114; *id.* (2004) 326; cf. Fodorean (2004) 526-529 hypothesising that milestones attest road repairs from Pannonia to Dacia in the AD 250s.

neighbouring province. The difference is unlikely to reflect more than separate epigraphic traditions evolving amongst provincial armies.

If the nominative on its own is insufficient proof for the emperor having played an active part, how meaningful is it in combination with a specific propagandistic message? Seven milestones from the vicinity of the Numidian town of Zarai proclaim that emperors had restored the milestones of their world. Imperial names on two milestones with this formula have been erased, one of them perhaps belonging to Elagabalus or Severus Alexander.³⁴ The five datable milestones name Aemilius Aemilianus (AD 253), Aurelian (AD 270-275), Tacitus (AD 275-276), Diocletian (AD 285-305)³⁵ and Maximianus or Galerius whilst *Caesar* (AD 285-286 or AD 293-305).³⁶ The text of the first three of them is largely or completely preserved, and they are worth citing in full:

Imp(erator) Cae(sar) | Aemilius | Aemilianus Pius Fe(lix) | Aug(ustus)
Pontifex Max(imus) P(ater) P(atriciae) | mil(iaria) orbis | [sui] resti(tui)t³⁷

Imp(erator) Caesar | L(ucius) Domitius Aulrelianus Pius | Felix
Aug(ustus) millaria orbis | sui restituit³⁸

[I]m[p(erator)] Cae(sar) | M(arcus) Claudius | Tacitus P(ius) | Felix
Aug(ustus) | mil(iaria) orbis | sui restitui[t]³⁹

At first sight it is tempting to think that these stones carry messages from the named emperors, and there are scholars who believe that they do. Referring specifically to the Aurelian milestone, Leszek Mrozewicz writes: “Without doubt, we are dealing here with a proud declaration of imperial power, of the very emperor who had succeeded in reuniting the Roman Empire.”⁴⁰ In his view, Aemilius Aemilianus had been the initiator of this particular rhetoric formula, whilst Aurelian, Tacitus and the tetrarchs followed his example. Rather than being just rhetoric, however, the formula *miliaria orbis sui restituit* (“he restored the milestones of his world”) refers

³⁴ *CIL* VIII 22482 and 22486 (with erased names and undated); the tentative attribution of the former to Elagabalus AD 218-222 is possible, but uncertain; IMP C M A[---] could also refer to M. Aurelius Alexander, i.e. Severus Alexander (cf. *CIL* VIII 10432, 10438), or another condemned emperor whose name started with M. A[---] and fitted into one and a half lines; cf. Hirschfeld (1907) 176-177.

³⁵ *CIL* VIII 22475.

³⁶ *CIL* VIII 22477.

³⁷ *CIL* VIII 22473. There seems to be space in the last line to insert SVI before RESTIT (cf. Gsell (1893) 158 no. 142; Hirschfeld (1907) 177 no. 1).

³⁸ *CIL* VIII 10374.

³⁹ *CIL* VIII 22474.

⁴⁰ Mrozewicz (2004) 356 (my translation).

to an actual renewal of roads. As these were symbols and safeguards of an effective functioning state and peace, the formula ultimately refers to state renewal.⁴¹ A similar hypothesis had already been advanced in the 1930s by Karl Schneider who, whilst conscious of the formula's repeated use in the vicinity of one town only, still believed in imperial authorship: it was Aemilius Aemilianus himself, evidently not lacking in self-confidence, who boasted to have restored the milestones of the whole world.⁴²

Yet while the wording implies that the named emperors had composed the text, there is nothing to suggest that Aemilius Aemilianus, even if of African descent,⁴³ or Tacitus during their short reigns, of c. three and seven months respectively, ever visited Numidia or took any personal interest in its roads or milestones — nor is there any obvious reason why they would have wanted their claim of global restoration to be recorded at this one community in inland northern Africa alone. Indeed, the clustering of this formula at this particular location suggests strongly that it reflects nothing more than a text composed by an official at local (and not even provincial, let alone imperial) level and then repeatedly copied, with minor variations, over the next half-century or more — whether officially sanctioned or, more probably, not. While the milestones do not name a dedicator, five of the seven known stones with this formula were found just one mile from the town of Zarai, so that it would have required no detective skills to establish who had commissioned them. To assume that a milestone functioned as a building inscription, let alone as a medium carrying a personal message from the emperor, only because the nominative was chosen, would seem unwise. The subtle message most probably was that the people of Zarai were the ruler of the world's loyal subjects.

The dedicatory character of milestones is most obvious in the case of milestones for individual princes or for other *Caesares* and *Augusti* outside their geographic area of responsibility. Imperial princes in the lifetime of their fathers and other recognised co-emperors are not only often named and listed on milestones, but from the mid-third century onwards sometimes received separate individual milestones.⁴⁴ This practice is particularly popular under the Tetrarchy and Constantine I and by no means restricted to provinces with any particular connection to the

⁴¹ Mrozewicz (2004) 356-357.

⁴² Schneider (1935) 421.

⁴³ Epit. de Caes. 31; Zonar. 12.21.

⁴⁴ Empresses, by contrast, never received separate milestones, as far as I am aware, though some feature in the third century jointly with their husbands and/ or sons.

named emperor. Such monuments are a further indication that they had become devotional monuments, as it is hard to see why Licinius I or his infant son (and that of Constantine's half-sister Constantia⁴⁵), Licinius II (Figs 6-7), for example, should have been credited with road improvements in the realm of Constantine. Dalmatius/Delmatius, the *Caesar* responsible for the lower Danube and Greece, not known to have travelled to the west and not likely to have taken a special interest in its transport infrastructure during his two years as *Caesar* (AD 335-337),⁴⁶ was honoured with no fewer than four milestones in the north-western Hispanic province of Gallaecia⁴⁷ and three in southern Gaul.⁴⁸ There are even a small number of milestones dedicated to deified emperors.⁴⁹ While the text of milestones often provides more or less subtle hints of their purpose, it is not always easy to interpret the text on its own and in subsequent sections we will focus primarily on context and chronology.

III. MILESTONES WITHOUT MILEAGE OR RELATION TO ROADS

The distance to the *caput viae*, the only relevant piece of information to the traveller, is only indicated on three milestones from Britain set up after AD 235 and on none at all after Florianus (AD 276).⁵⁰ This is in sharp contrast, not just to post-medieval British milestones whose text is largely confined to destinations and distances,⁵¹ but also to British milestones of the second century and the Severan dynasty, the majority of which provide mileage figures. In deliberately omitting any information useful for literate road users, late Roman milestones in Britain also differ from their contemporary counterparts in other parts of the Empire, such as Gaul, Germany, Italy and

⁴⁵ Cf. *CIL* XVII.2, 183ab.

⁴⁶ Barnes (1982) 87, 198-199.

⁴⁷ Rodríguez Colmenero e.a. (2004) nos. 91, 102, 150 (perhaps for two emperors, to judge by the start, DD NN, but name of second not preserved, though see no. 165 for DD NN being used for a single emperor), 586; see also Solana Sáinz & Sagredo San Eustaquio (1998) 124-125 no. 110; *id.* (2008) 427-428 nos. 27-28.

⁴⁸ *CIL* XVII.2, 96, 163a, 303b.

⁴⁹ Rathmann (2003) 129 with no. 753; cf. *CIL* XVII.2, 183a for Divus Constantius I. See also Pekáry's (1968) 21 sceptical comments. Sayar (1998) 408-410 nos. 290-291 (= *AE* 1998.1180-1181 = *SEG* 48.913-914) argues that two milestones, found c. 23 km NW of Perinthus in Thrace, styling Diocletian and Maximianus *divi*, were set up in their lifetime — and that they may attest road renewal.

⁵⁰ *RIB* I 2235, 2241, 2274, cf. 2281; cf. Edwards (2008) especially 73 and 83.

⁵¹ Benford (2002).

Northern Africa, where distances are still given on a considerable number of stones, even if far from always.⁵² Yet, Rome's insular provinces in Britain are not the only ones to stand apart. The British tendency to indicate distances on early milestones and to omit them from late ones is paralleled in the south of the Iberian Peninsula,⁵³ whilst in the north-west even many late antique stones indicate mileages.⁵⁴ The absence of empire-wide trends suggests that milestone inscriptions were composed at urban or provincial level, in most cases without any imperial directions or vetting.

Yet, while milestones on roads, devoid of all information for the traveller and often no more than a mile before the next settlement was reached, may have been of little practical use, they are still easier to explain by conventional theory than those from remote stretches of coast. Scholars have long been puzzled why none of the five Roman milestones from Cornwall has been found near a known public road. They all date to the period when the practice of milestone erection had reached its climax in Britain. Represented are Gordian III (AD 238-244), Gallus and Volusianus (AD 251-253), Postumus (AD 260-269), Constantine I whilst still *Caesar* (AD 306-307) and Licinius I (AD 308-321/324).⁵⁵ Ivan Margary,⁵⁶ Shepard Frere,⁵⁷ Malcolm Todd⁵⁸ and Charles Thomas⁵⁹ all deduced from the stones the existence of officially recognised roads in Cornwall, even if there is no evidence for paved roads in the area. Yet, if these milestones were set up by local communities, there is no need to postulate that dirt tracks were public roads, nor that central authorities had commissioned repeated maintenance works. As the stones were found near the coast (mostly reused in later structures, but unlikely to have been moved far), the simple statements of political allegiance to the reigning emperor or officially recognised co-emperors, like Licinius I, may have been addressed to those who arrived via sea routes as much as land routes. Increasing visitor numbers to an important tin-producing area, that was to evolve into

⁵² *CIL* XVII.2, *passim*; Basso (1987a); *ead.* (2008) 72; Donati (1974); Salama (1987) 61-62.

⁵³ Sillières (1990) especially 55; Corco Sánchez & Toscano Sa Gil (1992) 201-223.

⁵⁴ Rodríguez Colmenero *e.a.* (2004).

⁵⁵ *RIB* I 2230-2234; the Licinius milestone is likely to be early and very unlikely to date to the time after Constantinian mints had stopped issuing coins in his name in c. AD 321.

⁵⁶ Margary (1973) 121-122, 502-503, map 11; cf. Jones & Mattingly (1990) 176-177; Woolf (1970) 81-82; *TIR M30 London* (1983).

⁵⁷ Frere (1987) 279.

⁵⁸ Todd (1987) 218.

⁵⁹ Thomas (1993) 82-83.

a hub of maritime trade,⁶⁰ may well have triggered the adoption of the politically opportune practice of setting up milestones in once isolated communities, even if not served by proper roads.

IV. MILESTONE CLUSTERS

Most milestones were, of course, still placed on the verges of public roads. Indeed, the increasingly frequent erection of milestones resulted in the growth of veritable forests of milestones along major traffic arteries, spaced at intervals of one Roman mile (or one *leuga*). On the *Via Nova* from Bostra towards the Red Sea⁶¹ and on the road from Asturica Augusta to Bracara Augusta in Gallaecia some of these remain to the present day (Figs 1 and 8).⁶²

Inscriptions recovered from two cellars at Ladenburg and Heidelberg (Tables 1-2) were probably once part of milestone clusters too, one and four *leugae* (1.5 and 6 Roman miles, i.e. c. 2.2 and 8.9 km) from the *caput viae* at Lopodunum (Ladenburg) in Upper Germany, the *civitas* capital of the Neckar Swabians. Closer to the town, the distance is only indicated and preserved on the earliest stone, but omitted on the three latest. What was never omitted was the name of the sponsoring *civitas*. Interestingly, with the exception of Trebonianus Gallus (AD 251-253), one of the cellar deposits comprises a complete set of all main emperors in power for more than a year between Elagabalus and Valerian, the other of all, from Gordian III to Valerian. The list of imperial princes named is more selective, but that both collections contain one milestone of Decius, probably set up soon after his proclamation in AD 249, and one, of his elder son, Herennius Etruscus, probably dedicated soon after he had become *Caesar* in AD 250, is worth noting. The territory of the Neckar Swabians was abandoned around AD 260, which explains why there are no milestones of Postumus or any of his successors. The stones had perhaps been concealed before the Roman withdrawal from territories beyond the Rhine, with a view of re-erecting them or of re-using them as building material should direct control ever be

⁶⁰ See Barrowman (2007) especially 309-310 on the significance of increased activity in the area from the third century onwards.

⁶¹ Bauzou (1998) 109-127; Roll & Avner (2008).

⁶² Baptista e.a. (1998); Rodríguez Colmenero e.a. (2004) 353-589. On milestone clusters see also Klee (2010) 68; Rathmann (2003) 125-126; Schneider (1935) 425; Walser (1981) 385-386; Wilkes (1969) pl. 34.



Fig. 1: A typical milestone cluster on the road from to Asturica Augusta to Bracara Augusta, 32 Roman miles from the latter town, in the north-west of the Iberian Peninsula.

re-established. Why even the stones of condemned emperors were kept (those of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander with their names partially erased) is unknown. Neither do we know why Trebonianus Gallus was not represented. Little would be gained by speculating whether any stones were removed or completely destroyed during the short reign of his opponent and successor Aemilius Aemilianus (AD 253) or whether he had never received any. Otherwise the pattern seems clear: there are no significant omissions, and no two milestones from either collection are dedicated to the same individual emperor or father and son pair. Honouring virtually every new emperor who lasted for more than a few months with such roadside inscriptions (whether one every *leuga* or just at selected points) seems to have been an almost automatic procedure of Lopodunum's town council. In the first half of the third century this did not yet always happen immediately after news of the proclamation was received. Elagabalus appears to have had to wait for more than one year and a half⁶³ before the "most

⁶³ Note though that, whilst Walser (*CIL* XVII.2, 636, cf. p. 268) is probably right in dating the milestone to AD 220 on the basis of the emperor's third consulship, *tri(bunicia) potest(ate) iter(um)* provides a date of 10/12/218-9/12/219. The earlier date is more likely to be erroneous. See Speidel & Scardigli (1990) and Wiegels (2002) on the name of the *Civitas*.

faithful”, *devotissima*, *C(ivitas) U(lpia) S(ueborum) N(icrensium)* dedicated a milestone to the emperor — probably because the local habit of honouring new emperors with milestones had not yet been established when Elagabalus had been proclaimed *Augustus* in AD 218. Maximinus received a milestone not before his second year, after his son Maximus had been promoted to the rank of *Caesar*, and at least one of the Philippus stones dates to his second year in power too. Most of the other inscriptions are not precisely datable. What is clear is that the pattern cannot be explained with road maintenance. Had these stones been set up on the occasion of road repairs, it would be inconceivable that these were carried out regularly even during short reigns, but never more than once during a longer reign, unless after the promotion of a prince to the rank of *Caesar*.

Table 1: Milestone deposit from Ladenburg cellar

<i>CIL</i> <i>XVII.</i> <i>2 no.</i>	<i>Terminus</i> <i>post</i> <i>quem</i>	<i>Terminus</i> <i>ante</i> <i>quem</i>	Emperor(s)	Distance	Dedicator
631	238	244	Gordian III	<i>l(eugam) I</i>	<i>C(ivitas)</i> <i>S(ueborum)</i> <i>N(icrensium)</i>
632	244	247	Philippus I (as <i>Augustus</i>) & Philippus II (as <i>Caesar</i>) ⁶⁴	?	<i>C(ivitas) U(lpia)</i> <i>[S(ueborum)</i> <i>N(icrensium)]</i>
633	249	251	Decius	No distance	<i>C(ivitas)</i> <i>S(ueborum)</i> <i>N(icrensium)</i>
634	250	251	Herennius Etruscus (as <i>Caesar</i>)	No distance	<i>C(ivitas) Ūl(pia)</i> <i>S(ueborum)</i> <i>N(icrensium)</i>
635	253	260	Valerian I & Gallienus	No distance	<i>C(ivitas) U(lpia)</i> <i>S(ueborum)</i> <i>N(icrensium)</i>

⁶⁴ Dated by Walser (*CIL* XVII.2, 632) to AD 245, his restoration of the stone probably based on *CIL* XVII.2, 640. Yet, the two stones differ in line breaks, and we cannot be sure that they both date to the emperor’s second tribunician power, clearly indicated on the latter milestone, but restored on the former.

Table 2: Milestone deposit from Heidelberg cellar

<i>CIL</i> XVII. 2 no.	<i>Terminus</i> <i>post</i> <i>quem</i>	<i>Terminus</i> <i>ante</i> <i>quem</i>	Emperor(s)	Distance	Dedicator
636	220	221	Elagabalus	<i>A Lop(oduno)</i> <i>l(eugas) IIII</i>	<i>C(ivitas) U(lpia)</i> <i>S(ueborum)</i> <i>N(icensium)</i> <i>devotissima</i> <i>pos(u)it</i>
637	222	235	Severus Alexander	<i>A Lop(oduno)</i> <i>l(eugas) IIII</i>	<i>C(ivitas)</i> <i>S(ueborum)</i> <i>N(icensium)</i>
638	236	238	Maximinus & Maximus	<i>l(eugas) IIII</i>	<i>C(ivitas)</i> <i>S(ueborum)</i> <i>N(icensium)</i>
639	238	244	Gordian III	<i>l(eugas) IIII</i>	<i>C(ivitas)</i> <i>S(ueborum)</i> <i>N(icensium)</i>
640	245 ⁶⁵	245	Philippus I (as <i>Augustus</i>) & Philippus II (as <i>Caesar</i>)	<i>l(eugas) IIII</i>	<i>C(ivitas)</i> <i>S(ueborum)</i> <i>N(icensium)</i>
641	249	251	Decius	<i>l(eugas) IIII</i>	<i>C(ivitas)</i> <i>S(ueborum)</i> <i>N(icensium)</i>
642	250	251	Herennius Etruscus (as <i>Caesar</i>)	<i>l(eugas) IIII</i>	<i>C(ivitas)</i> <i>S(ueborum)</i> <i>N(icensium)</i>
643	253	260	Valerian I & Gallienus	<i>A Lop(oduno)</i> <i>leug(as) IIII</i>	<i>Civit(as) Ulp(ia)</i> <i>S(ueborum)</i> <i>N(icensium)</i>

In the AD 270s, after the abandonment of the territory of the Neckar Swabians and Rome's other possessions beyond the Rhine, some milestone clusters further west appear to have served as quarries for hastily erected town walls. Seven or eleven milestones were reused in the late third or fourth-century town walls of Nantes. The dates of four are

⁶⁵ Firmly dated to AD 245 by *t(ribunicia) p(ostate) II*.

known: Tacitus (AD 275-276) was styled “the most merciful” (*clementissimus*) on two⁶⁶, a quality without obvious relation to road-building. The short-lived emperor’s milestones were found together with two, dedicated to his predecessors, Victorinus (AD 269-271) and the imperial prince Tetricus II (AD 272/273-274).⁶⁷ In the earliest of the four the local *C(ivitas) N(amnetum)* is identified as dedicator.⁶⁸ None of them provides information on mileage or destination (though two are not well enough preserved to exclude the possibility that such details might have been referred to).

100 km north of Nantes, at Rennes, 18 milestones or fragments thereof were equally found reused in the probably late third-century town walls. Of the 13 datable ones, one belongs to Septimius Severus and his family (AD 198-201), two to Maximinus and Maximus (AD 237), while the three main Gallic emperors are represented with no fewer than ten: three of Postumus (AD 260-269), four of Victorinus (AD 269-271) and three of Tetricus I (AD 271-274). Two of the Victorinus stones had once stood at a distance of four *leugae* (c. 8.9 km) from the town, as had an undated milestone, whether at the same road or at different roads; the other stones are without preserved indication of distance. The invariably strong representation of the Gallic emperors suggests that it was in the 260s and 270s that the *c(ivitas) R(edonum)* adopted the practice of setting up milestone as devotional monuments.⁶⁹

The phenomenon that obsolete milestones were reused as building material in defensive compounds has a parallel also north of the Channel. The late third-century coastal fortifications of Bitterne contained the only milestone from Britain to record road repair works, under an emperor in his 18th tribunician power, probably Septimius Severus (AD 209/210) or Caracalla (AD 214/215), as well as milestones of Gordian III (AD 238-244), Trebonianus Gallus with his son Volusianus (AD 251-253) and Tetricus I (AD 271-274). It is not known whether or not three more milestones from Bitterne may have come from the walls too, two of Tetricus I, one of them a palimpsest on a stone of Gordian

⁶⁶ *CIL* XVII.2, 389-390: one in the dative and the other using both dative and nominative forms for imperial epithets.

⁶⁷ The date of his elevation to *Caesar* is disputed. Kienast (1996) 248 and Drinkwater (1987) 187 opt for AD 273, Luther (2008) 337 argues for AD 272.

⁶⁸ *CIL* XVII.2, 387-388; cf. Provost (1988) 94, 96-97; Bedon (2001) 228.

⁶⁹ *CIL* XVII.2, 462-479; cf. Pouille (2008) 76, 341-349; Provost & Gilles Leroux (1990) 180-182, 191-192; Bedon (2001) 263.

III, as well as a probable milestone definitely naming Aurelian.⁷⁰ The latter must date to the short period between Aurelian's takeover of the Gallic Empire in AD 274 and his death in AD 275, suggesting that the local authorities, having honoured the last Gallic emperor with no fewer than three out of eight surviving inscriptions, were keen to publicly attest their support for his conqueror too. The strong representation of Gallic emperors amongst the milestones at Rennes, Nantes and Bitterne may mark the local heydays in using milestones as monuments to express loyalty. The Aurelian and Tacitus stones suggest, however, that this practice survived the demise of the Gallic Empire and that the reuse of the stones was sparked by security concerns rather than being a targeted act against the representatives of the breakaway empire.

V. STRONG OVER-REPRESENTATION OF SHORT-LIVED EMPERORS

The Gallic Empire issued coins for three emperors in power for a few months at most, Laelian (AD 269), Marius (AD 269) and Domitian II (AD 271).⁷¹ Yet none of them was honoured with a milestone, at least none that has survived and has been found and published yet (whilst there are 23 for Postumus, 17 or 18 for Victorinus and 17 for the Tetrici).⁷² Neither had any previous emperor whose rule lasted for less than a year (or prince whose father's rule lasted for less) received a milestone in Rome's north-western provinces — perhaps suggesting that town councils feared potential negative repercussions of overzealous support for an ill-fated pretender to the throne. Elsewhere, notably in a small number of Mediterranean provinces, milestones for ephemeral emperors had already been produced decades before. They include Pupienus and Balbinus (AD 238) and Aemilius Aemilianus (AD 253), all in power for just a quarter of a year.⁷³ Perhaps the least enduring emperor to be represented was Quintillus who probably ruled for just 17 days, or possibly up to 77, in AD 270.⁷⁴ For other short-lived usurpers of the third century, reigning for

⁷⁰ *RIB* I 2222-2228; Haverfield (1911) 139-144; King (1991); cf. Pearson (2002) 60-65.

⁷¹ Schulzki (1996) 70-75; Abdy (2009).

⁷² See section VII below.

⁷³ Cf. Rathmann (2003) 254, 256, 268.

⁷⁴ There is just one milestone naming emperor Quintillus, from Mauretania Caesariensis (*CIL* VIII 22598). Whilst procurator of Sardinia, Quintillus had himself dedicated another milestone to his brother Claudius Gothicus (AD 268-270). Added to at least two earlier

weeks rather than months and known through literature or coinage, there are no known milestones at all.

By the mid-270s authorities in some of Rome's western and northern provinces acted even more hastily in setting up milestones than they had done before, perhaps reflecting the increasingly rapid speed of governmental change between AD 274 and 276. Indeed, one of the most striking aspects of third-century milestones is how astonishingly well short-lived emperors are represented. In the north and west of the Iberian Peninsula the pattern is particularly pronounced. Aurelian (AD 270-275) received five milestones during his reign of five years on the entire peninsula. Remarkably, four of these are from Hispania Baetica, which, in sharp contrast to Lusitania and Hispania Citerior, produced not even a single milestone for any emperor in the decade following Aurelian's demise. In contrast, his successor Tacitus (AD 275-276) is named on no fewer than c. 18 Hispanic milestones, 16 of them from a variety of roads in the west. Why the Tacitean milestone boom affected mainly the Peninsula's Atlantic side is not easy to explain. Perhaps the provincial governor of Lusitania, though unnamed and unknown, in whose dominion two thirds of the stones were found, was the driving force, perhaps the stones are testimony of a rivalry in subservience between various local communities in Lusitania and the north-west of Hispania Citerior. Alternatively, could in this instance the stones, mostly lined up along roads, have been set up on the occasion of a real road improvement scheme? The pattern of milestone erection over the next decade suggests otherwise. After a lull, with no milestones for Florianus (AD 276), and Probus' six years of rule (AD 276-282) being represented by a mere five, the short-lived dynasty of Carus and his sons (AD 282-285) produced no fewer than 47 stones on the Peninsula. They are geographically spread somewhat more widely than those of Tacitus, notably in the north-east of Hispania Citerior. The dynastic aspirations of the family, the promotion of the two sons to *Augusti* in their father's lifetime and their successive deaths in

stones at 119 miles distance from Caralis on the central Sardinian road to Olbia, it was probably not the only milestone the future emperor had set up on this long road. Probably during Quintillus' reign '... D N IMP CAES M AVRELIO I CLAUDIO P FELICI I INVICTO AVG ...' was changed to '... INVICTIS AVGG ...', the plural presumably referring to the two brothers: Boninu & Stylow (1982) especially 37-44 = *AE* 1984.446, cf. 444-445; Rathmann (2003) 198-199; 273, 275; Mastino (2005) 147, 336-337, 340, 371; Salama (1985) 227; Gerhardt & Hartmann (2008) 1176. Including this three-letter amendment, there are two milestones for Quintillus, an emperor recognised in all provinces, except those under control of the Gallic and Palmyrene Empires: Ibba (1997); cf. Hollard (2008).

283, 284 and 285 may account for the pronounced peak, as it stimulated the erection of separate milestones.⁷⁵

Peaks in milestone production differ from territory to territory, probably a result of local dynamisms and communities competing against their neighbours rather than those further afield. Aurelian, poorly represented in the Hispanic provinces and named on just two milestones in Britain, received no fewer than 16 within little more than a year in Gaul and Germany. The numerical peak (Fig. 5) as well as frequency of laudatory epithets, such as *magnus perpetuus imperator* ("great and everlasting emperor"), *pacator et restitutor orbis* ("pacifier and restorer of the world") or *restitutor Galliarum* ("restorer of the Gallic provinces") suggest that the burst in milestone dedication in AD 274-275 was sparked by Aurelian's reunification of the Empire, rather than high levels of investment in the traffic infrastructure.⁷⁶ There is no shortage of scholars, however, who believe Aurelian's milestones to attest "a fairly systematic programme of repair to the road network".⁷⁷ The variety of epithets and the omission of some of them on several stones⁷⁸ probably imply that the decision on wording was left to local authorities. The adoption of titles, also featuring on imperial coinage and on inscriptions elsewhere in the Empire,⁷⁹ suggests that there was strong rivalry between communities, in the wake of the fall of the Gallic Empire, to express their allegiance to Aurelian in words likely to find official approval.

Emperor Florianus, who ruled the European provinces of the Roman Empire, northern Africa and Asia Minor for two or three months in the summer of the year AD 276 before being killed in a civil war against Probus, received no milestone in the Hispanic provinces. Yet with 12 (plus a possible thirteenth) milestones, he is overall well represented in his

⁷⁵ Solana Sáinz & Sagredo San Eustaquio (2006) 45, 243-248 & (2008) 415-417 nos. 25-28; Solana Sáinz & Hernández Guerra (2002) 68-92, 99-101, 181-205 nos. 177-247. Note that the counts include a few milestones whose attribution to the listed emperors is conjectural. There is no space here for individual scrutiny, all the more so as the rejection of the few uncertain cases would not alter the general trends. See also *CIL* II 2201 (an Aurelian milestone omitted from the above works). Pond (1970) 242 sees the milestones of Carus and his sons as evidence for road repairs.

⁷⁶ As already rightly observed by Sotgiu (1975) 1045-1047.

⁷⁷ Watson (1999) 154, cf. 213; Cizek (1994) 161; Pond (1970) 37, 176-199, 233.

⁷⁸ *CIL* XVII.2, 31, 79, 158, 160, 164, 172, 184a, 319, 351, 404 (= *AE* 2001.1391) 498, 562; *AE* 1979.409; 1980.640; 1986.490; 2001.1393; Christol & Janni  re (2001). *CIL* XVII.2, 183b has not been included in the count.

⁷⁹ Peachin (1990) 383-405 with references; Estiot (2004).

dominion.⁸⁰ Not one of them is from a site Florianus is likely to have visited during his brief reign, while no fewer than four are from Britain — furthest from the territories, between the Bosphorus region and Tarsus, through which the emperor had travelled during his short reign. E.A. Pond, even though he had only been aware of half of the milestones we know now, saw this as evidence for an “ambitious program of road repair” under Tacitus and Florianus.⁸¹ According to Leszek Mrozewicz, a Florianus milestone from Gallia Aquitania not only attests road maintenance, but also the emperor’s desire to express his claim of having restored order via such works. Hence he chose to be called *dominus orbis et pacis* (“lord of the world and of peace”). Mrozewicz takes this milestone and others as evidence that the Romans even in times of the greatest danger found the time to repair roads.⁸² Yet, not only is it unlikely that the emperor would have focused his attention on such far-sighted projects for the long-term benefit of the state, even personally deciding the text of individual roadside inscriptions in far-flung provinces while faced with threat of imminent elimination in a brutal power struggle with Probus, it is even improbable that the authorities in the provinces could have spared the resources. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Florianus withdrew troops from the European provinces, thus triggering or exacerbating some of the most devastating Germanic invasions Gaul ever experienced.⁸³ While Britain’s insular location, even if affected by sea-raids, appears to have resulted in it surviving the third century with less enemy-inflicted damage than most of the Continental provinces or Asia Minor, one still wonders whether this was a likely time for grand projects and whether there is not a more persuasive explanation for milestone erection booming under short-lived emperors and dynasties.

VI. MILESTONES AS INDICATORS OF PROLONGED POLITICAL INSTABILITY

Yet, while Pond’s “ambitious program” on an extensive geographic scale seems questionable, it is more difficult to decide whether or not

⁸⁰ See Sauer (1998) especially 200-203, for those known by the 1990s and *RIB* III 3524 found since.

⁸¹ Pond (1970) 224, cf. 217 on Tacitus. For an alternative view, see Sauer (1998) and Kreucher (2003) 131, 218-219.

⁸² Mrozewicz (2004) 357-359; *CIL* XVII.2, 369.

⁸³ Sauer (1998) 184-187.

milestones could attest small-scale road maintenance at a local level — perhaps necessary even in the worst of times, not least as the speed of troop movements could decide the outcomes of the unceasing string of civil wars during the most turbulent phases of the third century. Milestones, especially those omitting any indication of distance, were of course not a necessary element of any efforts to keep roads in a usable state. Yet, could those who see even late milestones generally as evidence for road maintenance works be right in so far that any such works formed a convenient excuse for setting up politically expedient devotional monuments? In the case of Florianus a few of his milestones (though far from all) line roads that troops, sent to reinforce his army on the eve of the impending confrontation with Probus, might have used. Did the occasion for setting up these monuments continue to follow the old tradition, while only the style of the text changed? If so, the spatial and chronological distribution of milestones could still reflect, to a greater or lesser extent, the intensity of structural repairs to roads, whatever the ulterior motives were for the use of the dative or particular emphasis on the emperor's honorific titles. Alternatively, did both occasion and style change? Were milestones in the third and fourth centuries increasingly pure expressions of loyalty, roads forming convenient places to reach a broad audience, whilst their erection was now unrelated to any real efforts on road maintenance?

Some of the case studies above have already demonstrated that, short of an extraordinary coincidence between road repairs and times when setting up stones was politically expedient, some milestones must have been devotional monuments. Now the question arises whether these represent the majority of late milestones or were just exceptions to the rule. One suitable case study is provided by Britain, as its milestones differ in a number of respects rather sharply from those of nearby Continental provinces, as well as Italy, North Africa and Asia Minor. Milestone inscriptions from Roman Britain are often extremely concise. The relative scarcity of effusively laudatory epithets for emperors in comparison with territories further south⁸⁴ might easily tempt us to think that, in contrast to such territories, milestones in Britain were not mainly monuments expressing devotion to the emperor. The more concise a text is, the more difficult it is to base an interpretation solely on the wording, and it can be all the more rewarding to examine inscriptions statistically.

⁸⁴ Cf. Sauer (1998) 195-196.

The evidence from Britain certainly is not what one would expect, if the frequency of milestones accurately reflected the intensity of road building and repair:

- 85 out of the 96 datable Roman milestones from Britain date to AD 238/244–317/340.⁸⁵
- Milestones predating AD 238 are scarce (just 11) and there is none at all prior to AD 119/120.
- Milestone production ceased in Britain altogether within the first four decades of the fourth century, perhaps even as early as the late 310s.

For the first 75 years of Roman rule over Britain construction and maintenance of public roads had not been commemorated on milestones (unless very rarely or in timber) and for the next 120 years only occasionally. It is hard to think of a reason for an unprecedented boom in investment in traffic infrastructure subsequently, in the last two thirds of the third century and at the beginning of the fourth.⁸⁶ What sets this period apart is political instability. The average lifetime of emperors in office during this period of transition was shorter than in any longer era before or after, and especially so in Britain:

Table 3: Duration of reigns of emperors recognised in Roman Britain.

Period	Total number of years when emperors were in power ruling for more than nine years	Percentage
AD 43-235	172 out of 192	c. 90%
AD 235-306	10 out of 71	c. 14%
AD 306-410	64 out of 104	c. 62%

In such a rapidly changing political environment, it was important for local dignitaries to demonstrate that they were always on the right political side. The habit of setting up milestones commenced on a significant scale only in politically unstable times, i.e. once from the late 230s

⁸⁵ See Fig. 5.

⁸⁶ The spatial distribution is worth noting too. They often cluster in the vicinity of towns and forts, whilst for effective communication the maintenance of sections of road at the midpoint between two settlements should have been as important as sections in their approaches: Sedgley (1975) 3 fig. 1; *RIB* I 98, 598, 2219-2314; I², p. 758 no. 98, p. 767 no. 598, p. 799-800; III, 3516-3527; *TIR M30 London* (1983); *TIR N30 Britannia Septentrionalis* (1987); cf. Rathmann (2004b) 168.

onwards the average lifetime of emperors in office had dropped dramatically, and it ceased once political stability returned in the early fourth century (Fig. 5).

The circumstances of the abandonment of the practice are worth closer scrutiny. In AD 306 Constantine I was proclaimed emperor, the first one since Alexander Severus (AD 222-235) whose rule over Britain was to last for more than a decade, indeed it was to last for over three decades, until AD 337. It cannot be coincidence that one of the peaks in setting up milestones in Britain occurred at the beginning of Constantine's reign only for them to cease altogether within a few years or decades thereafter (Figs 5-6). There is only a single known milestone inscription from Britain which might postdate the emperor's death, but is more likely to predate it, perhaps by as much as twenty years. The name of Constantine II in the nominative was incised into the back of a milestone of his grandfather, Constantius I. As the end is lost, we cannot exclude the possibility that it might belong to his reign as *Augustus* (AD 337-340), but could well date to the time shortly after he had been proclaimed *Caesar* in AD 317.⁸⁷ Once political stability returned under Constantine I, there was no longer a need for local authorities to demonstrate their loyalty to the new ruler by ensuring that milestones bearing his name were set up near their town or fort.

Despite being abandoned earlier than further south, milestones in Britain were the most enduring type of Roman stone inscriptions. Tombstones, records of building works and votive dedications had already ceased to be produced (or at least to be dated) well before milestones — and milestones had become by far the most frequent type of monumental inscription already before the production of other categories of stone inscriptions had come to an end.⁸⁸ It was only the need to display a loyal attitude towards the emperor which kept the habit of setting up public stone inscriptions in Britain alive at a time when this practice had otherwise been abandoned. Fourth-century Britain, the period when personal wealth of the rich seems to have reached its peak, did not become an illiterate culture. The private and to some degree the religious as opposed to the public sphere now became the centre of lavish display. Mosaic floors and portable objects still carried inscriptions, but the habit

⁸⁷ *RIB* I 2259, cf. 2258.

⁸⁸ Sauer (1996) 14-15, 20.

of setting up public stone inscription was over.⁸⁹ Yet, the post-Roman revival of this habit in the west may owe much to milestones, the most abundant late Roman inscriptions on public view in Britain.⁹⁰

VII. SIGNPOSTS OF IMPERIAL ACCESSION AND EPISODIC INSTABILITY

Milestones in our period had evolved into public declarations of allegiance to the emperor. Peak periods of milestone erection often correspond to more or less prolonged periods of political uncertainty. Within such periods, there could be several short and pronounced bursts of milestone production, often following an emperor's accession to the throne (Fig. 5). It is this phenomenon which will be examined systematically in this section.

Milestones of emperors in power for less than a year must obviously date to a time not long after their proclamation. Those of later third-century and fourth-century *Augusti* lasting for several years often cannot be dated to similarly short periods. This is the result of a high proportion of milestones from many provinces not providing any information permitting closer dating. Victory titles are frequently omitted, whilst consulships, imperial acclamations or the annually renewed tribunician power are not always listed or counted. If counted, errors or inconsistencies occurred frequently. A milestone of Postumus, to cite just one example, provides an unnumbered tribunician power in combination with his fourth consulship of AD 268.⁹¹ This clearly demonstrates that failure to count the number of years an emperor had held the tribunician power does not prove a date prior to the first annual renewal (in case of Postumus in AD 260). The partial or complete omission of such information is not proof that an inscription predates the bestowal of such honours and powers, as it was far from obligatory to provide a full list — even though the majority of inscriptions with unnumbered tribunician power probably indeed date to the time before the first annual renewal. The gesture of setting up a milestone to an

⁸⁹ See *RIB* I 721 for an exception to the rule.

⁹⁰ Todd (1999).

⁹¹ *CIL* XVII.2, 334. Whilst in this particular case, COS IIII being at the end of the line, a later updating of the inscription cannot be ruled out, a milestone (*CIL* XVII.2, 353) set up during or after his third consulship of AD 262, equally after an uncounted TRP, cannot be explained with a later amendment, as COS III is followed by a word divider and P • P in the same line.

emperor mattered, it seems, while meticulous listing of all titles and powers was a dispensable luxury.

The astonishingly large number of milestones in the name of short-lived emperors or set up during Aurelian's one-year rule over Gaul suggests that similar quantities of milestones of more enduring rulers are likely to date to their first year in power. Whether milestones in our period were predominantly erected within the first months of an emperor's reign or at a fairly regular rate throughout is crucial for establishing their function. For politically motivated monuments it was opportune for governors or communities to demonstrate their loyalty early, when questions on allegiance were most likely to arise, and before a new emperor's rule was firmly established. Once an emperor's name was on public display, the dedicators' loyalty was literally carved in stone and remained so for however long the reign lasted. If a series of milestones had been erected within the dedicators' area of administrative responsibility in the first year, there was no obvious need to create a similar number in subsequent years. If, on the other hand, milestones recorded maintenance work and any demonstrations of loyalty were merely a by-product, one ought to expect a steady rate of production without any peaks in an emperor's year of accession. If the truth lies somewhere in between, i.e. if some milestones were simple dedications and others were set up on the occasion of real roadworks, one would expect smaller spikes following the proclamation of a new emperor or of an imperial prince, but a significant degree of continuity between such events. In periods when it is not possible to date milestones precisely, the overall number of milestones per emperor is significant. If a noteworthy proportion of milestones were set up on the occasion of road maintenance works, then there should on average be more milestones for long-lived than for short-lived emperors.

In order to establish whether there is such a correlation, I have plotted the post-Severan and pre-Diocletianic milestones from Britain, Gaul and Germany and Asia Minor as case studies (Figs 2-4). Each of these case studies has been subdivided into an earlier phase (AD 235-253) and a later phase (AD 253-284/285). As far as Britain (Fig. 2), Gaul and Germany (Fig. 3) are concerned, the trend lines show that this subdivision is not meaningful. Both in the early and late phase there is no obvious correlation between the length of an emperor's reign and the number of milestone inscriptions which can be attributed to it, suggesting that no or only a small proportion of milestones in Rome's north-western provinces were set up on the occasion of any regular roadworks. Most of

them, it seems, were produced for political reasons only, with bursts of milestone erection following a change in government and only a trickle in the times in between.

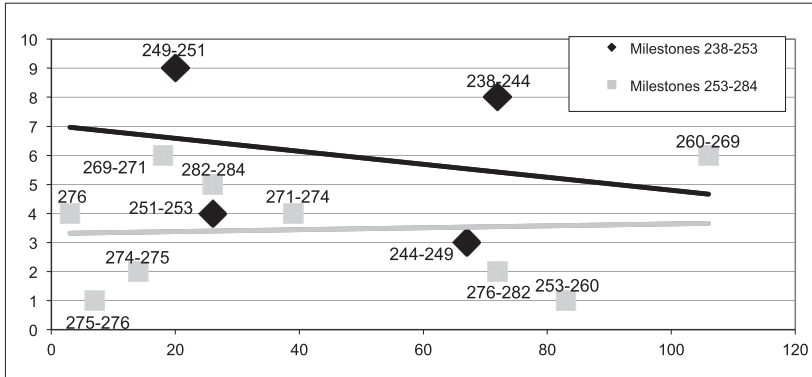


Fig. 2: Absolute number of post-Severan and pre-Diocletianic milestones in Britain of emperors in relation to the length of their reigns in months.⁹²

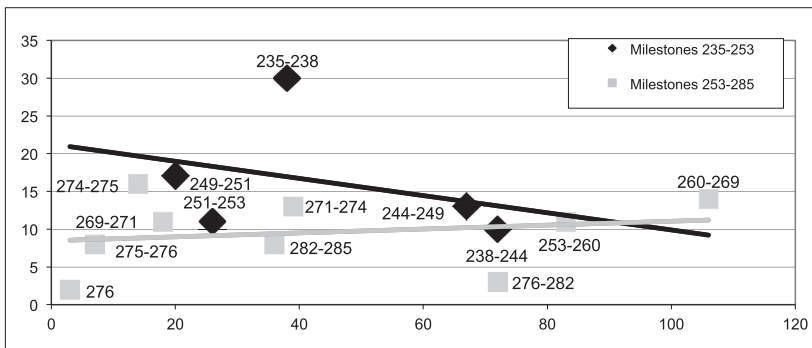


Fig. 3: Absolute number of post-Severan and pre-Diocletianic milestones in Gaul and Germany of emperors in relation to the length of their reigns in months.⁹³

⁹² Relevant entries in *RIB* I 98, 598, 2219-2314 (excluding 2246 and the first and second texts on 2301, whose proposed dating is too speculative); *I²*, p. 758 no. 98, p. 767 no. 598, p. 799-800; III, 3516-3527.

⁹³ *CIL* XVII.2, *passim*; *AE* 1978.499; 1979.409; 1980.631, 640; 1981.641; 1986.490; 1991.1239; 1993.1218; 1995.1018a; 1996.1048, 1140; 1997.1148a; 1999.1074; 2001.1393; 2002.1061; 2003.1231-1232; 2004.953.

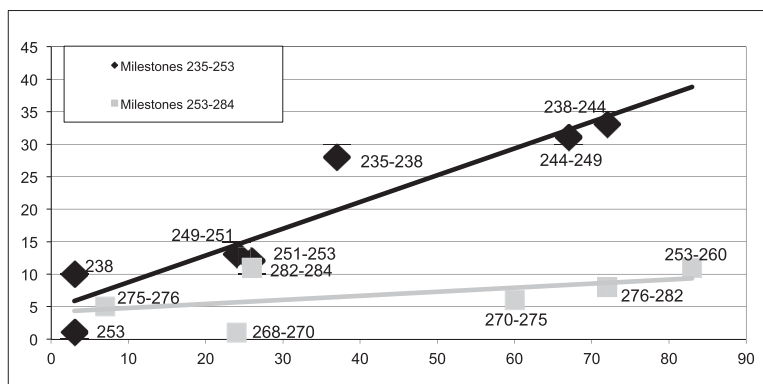


Fig. 4: Absolute number of post-Severan and pre-Diocletianic milestones in Asia Minor of emperors in relation to the length of their reigns in months.⁹⁴

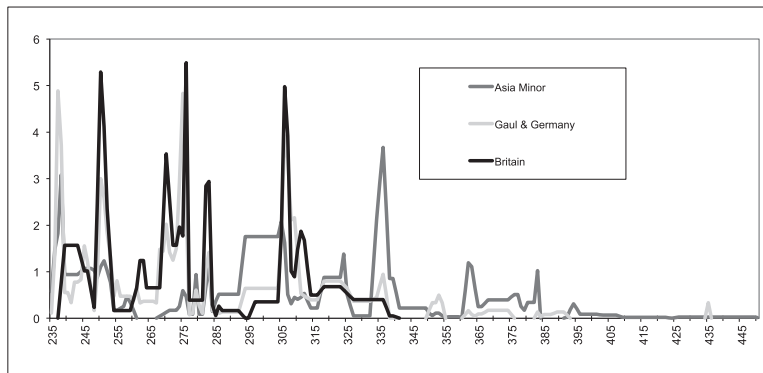


Fig. 5: Milestones from Britain, Gaul, Germany and Asia Minor from AD 235 to 450 per year: percentage of all milestones from each sample area, datable to this period, per year (sample size: Britain: 85, Gaul and Germany: 300, Asia Minor: 586). Milestones not attributable to a specific year have been assigned to the entire period possible, even though the majority is likely to date to the year following an emperor's accession; the graph is thus likely to under-represent the spikes in accession years.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Based on French (1988) listing the bulk of milestones known from Asia Minor. No attempt has been made to add milestones published since, e.g. in *AE*, *SEG* and French (2012), as the sample provided by French (1988) is large enough to be statistically viable. Furthermore, as the text of many of the milestones listed by French (1988) has not been published, it more difficult to be verify that all recently published milestones are indeed new.

⁹⁵ Sources: as previous three figs, plus *AE* 1977.529; 1986.478, 521; 1995.1018b-1019, 1031; 1996.966; 1997.1083; 2003.1267; 2004.902 (late antique milestones not included in *CIL* XVII.2).

One wonders whether in Asia Minor milestones served as much as monuments to proclaim loyalty to the emperor, as was the case in Britain. Our graph (Fig. 4) suggests that at least until AD 253, i.e. until the time before Asia Minor suffered extensive Persian and Gothic incursions, this was not so. There was, unlike in Rome's north-western provinces (Figs 2-3), a clear correlation between the length of an emperor's reign and the number of milestones.⁹⁶ The effects of the wars on Asia Minor were profound and could be felt in many spheres of life: the weight of provincial coinage, for example, dropped and most cities ceased to issue coins altogether in the AD 250s or early 260s, with only a few in the more sheltered south-west continuing beyond.⁹⁷ After AD 260 milestone erection in Asia seems to have come to a halt for several years⁹⁸ only to recommence slowly towards the end of the decade and to assume now an almost exclusively dedicatory role.⁹⁹ The complete hiatus in milestone production in Asia Minor for much of the AD 260s forms an interesting contrast to Britain. Honorific milestones often signal political volatility, but their erection depended on officials operating in an otherwise at least moderately secure environment, and Britain was arguably more economically stable and secure at the time.

Some might wonder whether the number of milestones is not simply too small to allow statistically meaningful analysis. Could the strong representation of some short-lived emperors be a result of chance? Is it possible, for example, that the survival of a similar number of Florianus and Probus

⁹⁶ The above-cited Pupienus and Balbinus milestones from Cappadocia are likely to be exceptions to the rule.

⁹⁷ Beyer (2002); Goltz (2008); Johnston (2007); Kettenhofen (1982); Nollé (1987) 254-264; Ziegler (1985) especially 114-119, 126.

⁹⁸ French (1988) 456-457; cf. *id.* (2012), p. 240, no. 94(B).1; *AE* 1983.902.

⁹⁹ Whilst a high proportion of milestones of the mid and late third century and Late Antiquity functioned as imperial accession markers, there are, of course, a significant number of exceptions to the rule. Five of the eight known Probus milestones from Asia Minor, for example, date to his fourth tribunician power (AD 279/280), all set up by the governor of Pontus, Aelius Quintianus: French (1988) nos. 908, 913-914, 959, 991, with further references, p. 459, 504, maps 12, 18; cf. *AE* 1977.787-788; 2006.1372; Gerhardt & Hartmann (2008) 1171; Kreucher (2003) 206; Lorient (2006) 406-407, 424-425. Little would be gained by speculating whether the activities of the governor were in any way related to Probus' various eastern campaigns, as there is much uncertainty about their precise chronology and nothing to suggest that Probus personally ventured to Pontus: Kreucher (2003) 150-177. It is possible that a small number of other Roman milestones were set up along imperial travel routes in anticipation of imperial visits, but this can only account for a small proportion, as the majority come from places the named emperors never came close to: Herzog (1974) 639.

milestone inscriptions from the north-western provinces is just a coincidence? Whilst Probus ruled at least 24 times as long as Florianus and his milestones ought to outnumber those of his predecessor by a similar factor, if set up at a steady rate, the sample is small. From the north-western provinces there are only six for Florianus¹⁰⁰ and five for Probus,¹⁰¹ including one stone with inscriptions for both.¹⁰² A probability calculation (Table 4) allows us to assess the odds of such an outcome occurring by chance.

Table 4: Probability of all possible ratios in a random sample of 11 milestones of Florianus and Probus, on the hypothetical assumption that these had been set up at a regular speed throughout and that thus under Probus' reign of six years there should have been 24 times as many as under Florianus' rule of no more than three months.

Number of milestones	Formula	Probability in percent	Probability expressed as 1 in X	Cumulative probability of this or a higher number of Florianus milestones expressed as 1 in X
11 Probus and 0 Florianus	$\left(\frac{24}{25}\right)^{11}$	63.82393306	1.57	1.00
10 Probus and 1 Florianus	$\left(\frac{11!}{10!}\right) \times \left(\frac{24}{25}\right)^{10} \times \left(\frac{1}{25}\right)$	29.25263598	3.42	2.76
9 Probus and 2 Florianus	$\left(\frac{11!}{9! \times 2!}\right) \times \left(\frac{24}{25}\right)^9 \times \left(\frac{1}{25}\right)^2$	6.09429916	16.41	14.44
8 Probus and 3 Florianus	$\left(\frac{11!}{8! \times 3!}\right) \times \left(\frac{24}{25}\right)^8 \times \left(\frac{1}{25}\right)^3$	0.76178740	131.27	120.61
7 Probus and 4 Florianus	$\left(\frac{11!}{7! \times 4!}\right) \times \left(\frac{24}{25}\right)^7 \times \left(\frac{1}{25}\right)^4$	0.06348228	1575.24	1484.90
6 Probus and 5 Florianus	$\left(\frac{11!}{6! \times 5!}\right) \times \left(\frac{24}{25}\right)^6 \times \left(\frac{1}{25}\right)^5$	0.00370313	27004.16	25892.52
5 Probus and 6 Florianus	$\left(\frac{11!}{5! \times 6!}\right) \times \left(\frac{24}{25}\right)^5 \times \left(\frac{1}{25}\right)^6$	0.00015430	648099.84	628984.60
4 Probus and 7 Florianus	$\left(\frac{11!}{4! \times 7!}\right) \times \left(\frac{24}{25}\right)^4 \times \left(\frac{1}{25}\right)^7$	0.00000459	21776154.48	21325647.91
3 Probus and 8 Florianus	$\left(\frac{11!}{3! \times 8!}\right) \times \left(\frac{24}{25}\right)^3 \times \left(\frac{1}{25}\right)^8$	0.00000010	1045255414.83	1030818728.40
2 Probus and 9 Florianus	$\left(\frac{11!}{2! \times 9!}\right) \times \left(\frac{24}{25}\right)^2 \times \left(\frac{1}{25}\right)^9$	0.00000000	75258389867.92	74634083299.91
1 Probus and 10 Florianus	$\left(\frac{11!}{10!}\right) \times \left(\frac{24}{25}\right) \times \left(\frac{1}{25}\right)^{10}$	0.00000000	9031006784150.09	8996927513266.51
0 Probus and 11 Florianus	$\left(\frac{1}{25}\right)^{11}$	0.00000000	2384185791015620.00	2384185791015620.00

As the ten milestones, with a total of eleven inscriptions for the two emperors, have been found at separate sites, they represent a random sample, not likely to have been distorted by intensive archaeological fieldwork

¹⁰⁰ *CIL* XVII.2, 369, 580; *RIB* I 2235, 2275; III, 3524.

¹⁰¹ *CIL* XVII.2, 14, 43, 47; *RIB* I 2300.

¹⁰² *RIB* I 2280.

within the territory of a single community acting in an atypical manner. The above results are thus valid. The strong representation of Florianus milestones, in relation to those of Probus, suggests that more milestones were set up on average per month under Florianus than under Probus, with a probability of more than 600,000 to 1.¹⁰³ In Gaul, where the three Probus inscriptions all come from the south (and none of them dates to the beginning of his reign), the imbalance may in part also be related to the repercussions of the Germanic invasions early in his reign. Yet even the six British inscriptions of the two emperors on their own provide a probability as low as 1 in 27,791 of there being four or more Florianus inscriptions (using the same parameters as in the previous calculations).

Whilst even this small sample demonstrates the extreme improbability of coincidence, it may nonetheless be worth testing the method with a second case study based on a somewhat larger sample. Interestingly, the number of milestones for the three main Gallic emperors is almost equal. Leaving aside those from Hispania Citerior, which was not under permanent control of the Gallic Empire, there are 20 for Postumus, and 17 each for Victorinus and the Tetrici, even though Postumus' reign lasted about three times longer than that of the Tetrici and about six times longer than that of Victorinus. Of the 20 milestones of Postumus, 13 cannot be attributed to any particular period within his reign (AD 260-269), one each dates to AD 261, 262/263, 262/267, 267/268 and 268/269 and two to AD 268. None of the 17 milestones of Victorinus provides information which allows dating it to a shorter period within his reign (AD 269-271).¹⁰⁴ If one assumed hypothetically that milestones were erected at a regular pace throughout the reign of Postumus and continued to be set up at the same pace under Victorinus, there ought to be little more than one sixth of them, bearing in mind that Postumus' rule lasted for approximately 106 months, that of Victorinus only for 18. The probability that in a random sample of 37 surviving milestones of these two emperors,

¹⁰³ There is no need to exclude the one milestone, carrying an inscription of Florianus and a second of Probus, as there is no local bias one way or the other. If all inscriptions attested roadworks, two on the same stone would still relate to separate projects. Even if one excluded it, thus reducing the sample to five and four respectively, the probability of five or more surviving Florianus milestones occurring in a sample of nine in total (assuming again a ratio of 1: 24 in antiquity) is still as low as 1 in 88,743. If Florianus' reign should have lasted for just two months, the ratio would be 1: 36, and the odds of a random sample yielding a similar proportion of Florianus milestones, in relation to those of Probus, even lower.

¹⁰⁴ Rathmann (2003) 273-278, with references, plus *AE* 1999.1074; 2002.1061; *RIB* III 3523 (cf. 3518-3519, 3525); Wittke e.a. (2010) 222-223.

there should be 17 or more of Victorinus are as low as 1 in 209,258 (if those of Postumus outnumbered those of Victorinus by a factor of $\frac{53}{9}$ to 1 in antiquity).¹⁰⁵ We may thus safely reject the hypothesis that milestones were set up at the same regular pace throughout the reigns of Postumus and Victorinus and that the strong representation of Victorinus is a result of coincidental survival. The burst of milestone erection after the proclamation of Victorinus was probably the result of communities, who had set up milestones of Postumus previously, wishing to put on record that they did not hold the dead emperor in greater esteem than the living. None would have wanted to be the last, and we may imagine that the action of one community triggered a domino effect amongst others. If, by contrast, milestones reflected a steady programme of road maintenance, one ought to expect the milestones of Postumus to be greater in number than those of his two successors combined.

The evident absence of any correlation between the length of an emperor's reign and the number of milestones set up in his name in Britain (as in nearby Continental provinces), exemplified by the strong representation of Decius, Florianus and the Carus dynasty (Figs 2 and 5), suggests that in the majority of cases milestones were set up shortly after the authorities had heard about the accession. Later, five of the milestones of Constantine I from Britain were erected during the one year while he was *Caesar* (AD 306-307) and only eight over the next thirty years, after his promotion to the rank of *Augustus* (AD 307-337)¹⁰⁶ (not counting those of his sons and other recognised co-emperors and fragmentary late milestones not attributable to a specific emperor) (Fig. 6). Only Constantine's initial acceptance of the rank of *Caesar*, i.e. of the lower imperial rank in the Tetrarchic system, renders his earliest inscriptions datable to a short period, unlike those of most of his predecessors who had been *Augusti* from the start. The unusually large number of Constantinian milestones in the north-west (Figs 6-7), dating to the year following his accession as *Caesar* (AD 306-307), mark this event.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Using the same calculations as in Table 4 and replacing the variables: 20 milestones of Postumus, 17, of Victorinus; reigns estimated at 106 and 18 months respectively.

¹⁰⁶ Constantine I as *Caesar*: *RIB* I 2233, 2237, 2292, 2303, 2310, cf. 2301, excluded as restoration hypothetical; as *Augustus*: *RIB* I 2242, 2249, 2267, 2285, 2288, 2302; III 3520-3521; as *Caesar* or *Augustus*: *RIB* I 2220.

¹⁰⁷ As rightly pointed out by Loscheider (2007) 369-371, even if he maintains that the majority of milestones functioned as distance markers or were set up on the occasion of roadworks; cf. Tomlin (2006). Frere (1987) 336, by contrast, argues that the "short period of rule as Caesar saw heavy repairs to the roads of Britain."

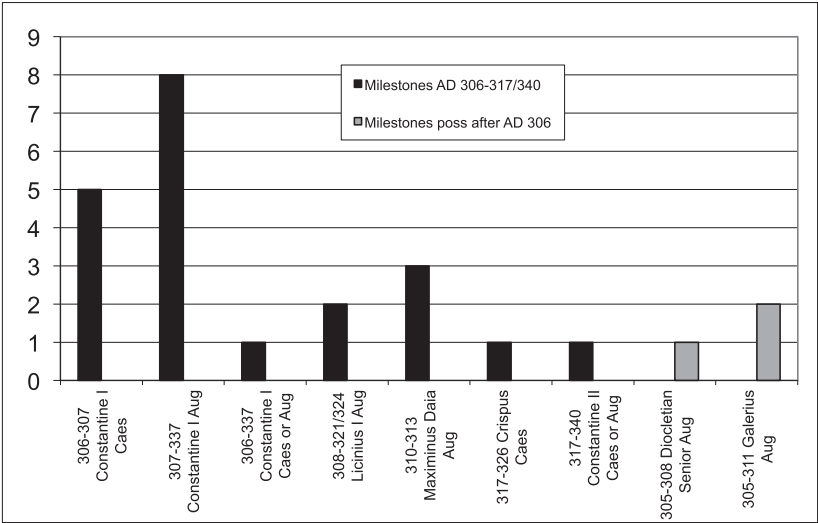


Fig. 6: Constantinian inscriptions on milestones from Britain, with a disproportionate number dating to his accession year, as well as to individual co-emperors and imperial princes.¹⁰⁸

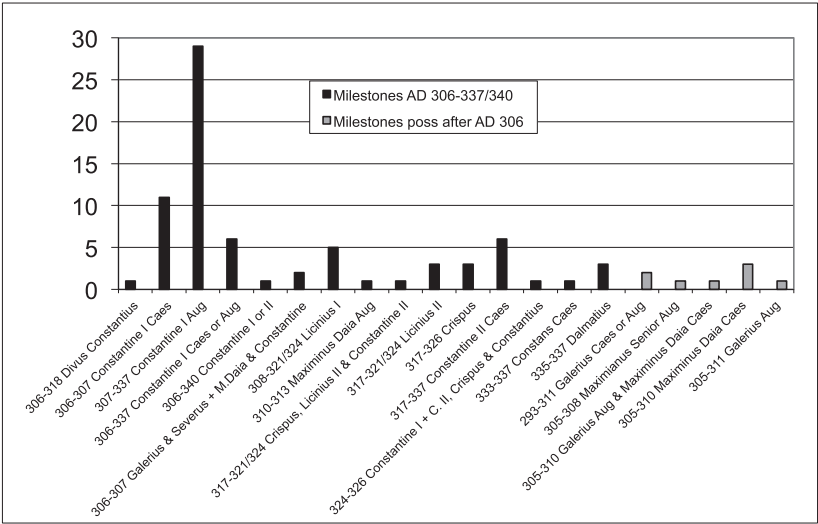


Fig. 7: Constantinian inscriptions on milestones from Gaul and Germany, showing a similar pattern as the previous graph.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Sources: cf. Fig. 2.

¹⁰⁹ Sources: cf. Figs 3 and 5. Dating based on *RIC* and Kienast (1996) 264-317.

When did the function of milestones change? This will have differed from province to province and the change may sometimes have been gradual rather than abrupt. Developments in the later 230s may have been pivotal. In Hispania Citerior there are no fewer than 43 milestones of Maximinus and Maximus, normally in the nominative (though at least one in the dative and one more using both cases). All well-preserved specimens date to AD 238, after Maximinus' seventh imperatorial acclamation in response to the defeat of his rivals, Gordian I and II, in Africa; they were set up through the agency of the governor of Hispania Citerior, Quintus Decius Valerinus,¹¹⁰ who was to become emperor and the recipient of numerous dedicatory milestones himself 11 years later (AD 249-251). 24 of these milestones (from a variety of roads) refer specifically to road and bridge repairs, five (all from a stretch of a single road) do not, while the remainder is not sufficiently well preserved to tell.¹¹¹ Are they evidence for Maximinus and Maximus having instructed road maintenance work in AD 238 or for the famous governor's eagerness to show that he remained loyal, whilst open revolt had spread from Africa to Italy? An inscription attests that the governor had sent a vexillation of *Leg(io) VII Gem(ina) P(ia) F(idelis)*, while it still carried the (subsequently erased) honorific epithet *M[a]xim[i]n(iana)*, to a vantage-point at the east coast of the Peninsula. The aim of the mission, far from the legion's headquarters at León in the north-west, was probably to spot and intercept any seaborne hostile landing. Decius wished to make public which side he supported in the civil war, and his numerous milestones in the name of Maximinus and Maximus, all dating to a war lasting just three months, were part of the effort.¹¹² His milestones are a sign of politically unstable times, as were those from Africa, on some of which the names and titles of Maximinus and Maximus were erased only to be the inscribed again later, reflecting almost certainly the revolt of Gordian I and II and the restoration of Maximinus' rule following their defeat.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Alföldy (1987) 430-462, especially 453-454; Gerhardt & Hartmann (2008) 1129-1130.

¹¹¹ Rodríguez Colmenero e.a. (2004) nos. 12-15, 103, 108, 117, 130, 134, 148-149, 156, 172, 199, 245, 289, 313, 349-350, 367-368, 384, 416, 431, 446, 453, 460-461, 468, 599, 667 (cf. 410 excluded as too uncertain); Solana Sáinz & Hernández Guerra (2002) nos. 89, 91-93, 120-127 (cf. 88, 90, 94-119 excluded as included in Rodríguez Colmenero e.a. (2004) or too uncertain).

¹¹² Alföldy (1987) 430-462; *AE* 1978.440; Birley (1998) 65-66; cf. Haegemans (2010) 71-72.

¹¹³ Kallala (2002); Schneider (1935) 420-421.

It is interesting to note that amongst the 30 milestones from Gaul and Germany, dating to the reign of Maximinus, 28 postdate his first year in office and the proclamation of Maximus as *Caesar* in AD 236, quite a number of them dating to AD 237; the two from AD 235¹¹⁴ were both found in the southern foothills of the Alps. Several milestones of Maximinus and Maximus refer specifically to the repair of roads and bridges (perhaps delayed by the repercussions of the Alamannic wars of AD 233-236).¹¹⁵ There is not a single milestone of Maximinus and Maximus from Britain. Is this evidence that there was little or no work on the island's roads or that it was too far from the theatres of civil war to warrant such a demonstration of loyalty — or perhaps that it was only shortly after this time that the fashion for setting up milestones for reasons unrelated to road repairs was adopted here? If we cannot be sure that the abundance of Maximinus and Maximus milestones on the Iberian Peninsula attests heavy road maintenance, or their absence in Britain neglect, it is hard to know how meaningful contemporary milestones alleging road repairs in Gaul and Germany or elsewhere in the Empire are, even if predating the civil war. Specific references to repair of roads become much scarcer and less specific in Gaul and Germany after the demise of Maximinus and his son, and even more so after the death of Gordian III, perhaps an indication of the changing function of milestones.

VIII. REGIONAL DIVERSITY AND LOCALISM

A slow start in taking up the practice of setting up milestones under the Early or High Empire and a sudden and sharp decline in the early fourth century has not been observed only in Britain, but also in some other Roman frontier territories, such as Lower Germany,¹¹⁶ Tripolitania¹¹⁷ and Palestine,¹¹⁸ in all of which certain post-Constantinian inscriptions occur only on a very small proportion of milestones or are

¹¹⁴ *CIL* XVII.2, 2 and 4; for the other Maximinus stones see index p. 269 and *AE* 1996.1048.

¹¹⁵ Walser (1981) 394.

¹¹⁶ Rathmann (2004a).

¹¹⁷ Mattingly (1995) 61, 223 no. 32, with references; cf. *AE* 1996.1695-1696.

¹¹⁸ Isaac (1998) 48-75; Isaac & Roll (1982) 66-86, 91-98, 133-141; Fischer e.a. (1996) 294-295; Roll & Avner (2008) = *AE* 2008.1551-1559. To some extent this also holds true for the Trajanic acquisition of Arabia, even though there are post-Constantinian

absent altogether. By contrast, the peak periods of milestone erection in the central Italian regions IV and V show little overlap with those at the empire's periphery; here milestones of the Early Empire (late first century BC – early second century AD) feature prominently, as well as highly laudatory milestones of the early to late fourth century, with a marked gap in between.¹¹⁹ In an important study Ray Laurence has recognised the sharp contrast between the total absence of pre-Tetrarchic third-century milestones from some regions of Italy and their general scarcity throughout the peninsula. He has made a convincing case that in Italy, and to some extent Asia Minor, they peak in periods of political stability — in sharp contrast to frontier territories where in the third century milestones take on a “role as a means of asserting loyalty ... relevant to those regions in which there was a military presence.”¹²⁰ Other Mediterranean territories differ again. In the south of the Iberian Peninsula, for example, milestone erection continues throughout the third century, but there is no particular peak and, in contrast to some northern provinces, emperors in power for less than a year do not feature.¹²¹ There is no space here to summarise when milestone erection ebbed and flowed in each province of the Roman Empire,¹²² but suffice it to say that there are massive variations and no empire-wide trends. Such major contrasts between different territories under Roman rule show that, far from being centrally coordinated, the decision to set up milestones was made sometimes on a provincial and sometimes on a community level.

There are also regional differences in the physical characteristics and material of late milestones. To save costs and effort, in Britain the nearest available source of suitable stone tended to be used;¹²³ some stones are small and some were not shaped like columns at all, thus considerably facilitating and accelerating the production process. People in the north-west of the Iberian Peninsula were similarly thrifty. On the road from Asturica Augusta to Bracara Augusta a granite quarry,

inscriptions: Bauzou (1998); Thomsen (1917) especially 89-93; *AE* and *SEG passim*, e.g. *SEG* 44.1399; 48.1912-1913.

¹¹⁹ Donati (1974).

¹²⁰ Laurence (2004) especially 51. I am grateful to one of the anonymous referees of *Ancient Society* for drawing this article to my attention.

¹²¹ Sillières (1990) especially 168, fig. 8.

¹²² See Kolb (2004) 139-141 for graphs for selected parts of the Empire; cf. *ead.* (2006).

¹²³ Sedgley (1975).



Fig. 8: A typical milestone cluster on the road from Asturica Augusta, at 31 Roman miles from Bracara Augusta.

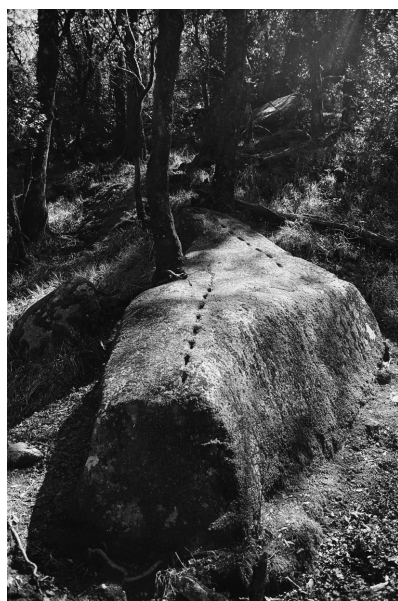


Fig. 9: Stone blocks for new milestones were often quarried and carved as close as possible to the intended position; this rock is just c. 200 m from the milestone cluster on Fig. 8 and, conveniently, on the same road. Neatly aligned wedge holes are part of an unfinished effort to extract two more stone blocks of suitable shape and size for milestones.

with preserved traces of wedge holes in neat rows, in preparation for splitting off stone blocks for further milestones (Fig. 9), is in the immediate vicinity of a cluster of granite milestones at mile XXXI from Bracara (Fig. 8).¹²⁴ By contrast, in northern Italy imported Aegean marbles were used for some fourth-century milestones, notably in the reign of Constantine I, even if local stones were employed as well and old milestones reused. The choice of cheaper local stone in north-western Europe will in part reflect the increased transport costs for ornamental stone to remote locations, but in part also local priorities. Speed was of the essence during the turbulent later third century in Britain, whilst aesthetics and ostentatious display of expensive materials were not. Marble milestones in fourth-century Italy reflect more stable conditions, though here the short-lived emperors Magnentius, Julian (as *Augustus*) and Magnus Maximus, recognised in Italy AD 350-352, 361-363 and 387-388, often had to settle for local stone or palimpsests too.¹²⁵

Successive inscriptions on the same stone, cheaper and faster than cutting and inscribing a new stone, were common in many provinces. The names of former emperors who had been condemned were of course often, more or less thoroughly, erased, or occasionally removed from public display in more creative ways. It is probably no coincidence that the only surviving milestone of a representative of the British Empire is an example of this procedure. A milestone, carrying Carausius' name (AD 286-293), replacing an earlier erased and mostly undecipherable inscription, was turned upside down and rededicated to Constantine I whilst *Caesar* (AD 306-307), thus not only saving the efforts involved in having to create a new column, but also hiding the British usurper's name from view. This may have saved this one milestone from erasure, though whether the column's former top end was buried long before its rededication or whether it had been concealed by some other means under the reigns of Allectus and Constantius I is unknown. This stone was found one mile south of Carlisle. While the Carausius and Constantius I inscriptions contained, as all other milestones from Britain from the mid-280s onwards, no information on dedicator, *caput viae* or distance, its location alone would have

¹²⁴ Baptista e.a. (1998) 22-23; cf. Rodríguez Colmenero e.a. (2004) nos. 330-346.

¹²⁵ Grossi (2007) with references; cf. Basso (2011). See Salama (2002) 88-89 and 135-137 on the use of local marble for some milestones in Numidia.

revealed who had set it up.¹²⁶ Whatever the propagandistic purpose, whether singular or in groups, the milestones that travellers on many roads encountered once every mile as they progressed still provided useful points of orientation in Late Antiquity, as references to milestones in literature attest.¹²⁷ Indeed, the very fact that roads continued to attract much traffic throughout imperial history made them ideal places for local authorities to display their political allegiance. Virtually everybody travelling through a province or approaching a particular town, fort or fortress on a public road was bound to pass milestones.

IX. THE PERIOD'S MOST COMMON DEDICATIONS TO THE EMPEROR

The function of milestones changed over time and varied from province to province. Notably from the AD 230s onwards they served increasingly often as a medium to express political loyalty and less and less often will have been set up on the occasion of actual road maintenance. There are marked differences between provinces in the start and peak periods of honorific milestone production; while in some milestones had a strong tradition and gradually assumed a new role, in others, notably the British provinces, they only became popular after they had largely lost their original purpose.

Benjamin Isaac and Christian Witschel have astutely observed that the spatial distribution of later Roman milestones in a variety of territories was far from random. Not all possible positions, at one-mile intervals, had an equal chance of being represented. Instead, milestones cluster at localities where the maximum number of people was likely to see them. The conspicuous scarcity of milestones from stretches of roads leading through desert and mountainous territories and their clustering in the most fertile lands, as well as the frequency of Latin milestone inscriptions in some of the provinces where Greek and Semitic languages were spoken, led Isaac to conclude that they were

¹²⁶ *RIB* I 2290-2292; cf. Schneider (1935) 425-426, 429 for a selection of further examples of milestones carrying a succession of inscriptions.

¹²⁷ Gregorius Turonensis, *Liber Vitae Patrum* 6.1; Barnes (2008); Chapman & Taylor (2008); Salama (1989). See also Amm. Marc. 19.8.5, though the tenth milestone may be a metaphor for a distance of ten miles (Dr Gavin Kelly, pers. comm.; cf. Amm. Marc. 26.10.19).

not meant to meet the practical needs of the provincial population, but were directed at the army¹²⁸ — and perhaps other officials too. Milestone inscriptions in Greek in the eastern half of the Empire indeed appear to be more frequent in provinces not bordering imperial frontiers,¹²⁹ though each region developed its own traditions. On the Peloponnese, for example, one notices a shift from Latin to Greek in the late third century, the choice of language evidently being left to locals. Milestone inscriptions from Trajan to Gallienus are in Latin, for Florianus and Carus with his sons, there are two each, one each in Greek and one in Latin, for Probus there is at least one in Latin, whilst the Tetrarchic and Constantinian milestones (sometimes repeatedly amended) are in Greek.¹³⁰

The wide variation in style demonstrates that the texts were not normally prescribed or even sanctioned by central authorities, let alone the emperor himself.¹³¹ Milestones in our period, as Isaac has aptly put it, “are the symptoms of a system that makes any official suspect who does not produce mechanical declarations of obedience”,¹³² yet a system which depended on local dynamisms and varied from province to province and from town council to town council. Few, if any, will have dared to oppose the suggestion to set up milestones for the reigning monarch. Yet somebody had to set the precedent to be imitated by others. This is why we sometimes see noteworthy numbers of milestones for short-lived third-century emperors in some provinces or parts thereof and none at all in others. Military and civilian officials would have approached towns mostly by road. It was here that displays of political allegiance had the best chance of reaching their target audience.

¹²⁸ Witschel (2002) 331, 371; Isaac (1992) 111-112, 304-310. Less persuasive is the hypothesis (*ibid.* 305) that the discovery of no more than one milestone in the area of Scotland is a related phenomenon. This is better explained with the early date and brevity of Rome’s control over southern Scotland, abandoned before the bulk of milestones in Britain were set up.

¹²⁹ *AE passim*; Gounaropoulou & Hatzopoulos (1985).

¹³⁰ Steinhauer (1998) = *AE* 1998.1249-1251 = *SEG* 46.379-381; Pikoulas (1998); *IG* V.1, 449; cf. *SEG* 46.327; 48.562. The attribution of two more inscriptions, one in Latin and one in Greek (Pikoulas (1998) 308 no. 3b = *CIL* III 7307 right and *AE* 1998.1249a) to Probus seems uncertain.

¹³¹ As rightly observed by König (1973) 423-427, Herzig (1974) 639-640 and Rathmann (2003) 43, contrary to Pekáry (1968) 18-21 and Sillières (1986) 358.

¹³² Isaac (1992) 308.



Fig. 10: Photo taken at Rawalpindi in Pakistan on 7 August 1990: roads in the modern as well as in the ancient world are places where public displays of the names or images of political leaders reach a wide audience.¹³³

Today images of political leaders, often jointly with messages directed at the public, are widely displayed in public places. To an extent this was true in antiquity too, but statues could not be mass-produced and never existed in quantities comparable to modern printed posters. This is reflected in the survival of considerably fewer statue bases, dedicated to emperors of the third and fourth centuries, than of contemporary milestones.¹³⁴ Only coins provided a viable way for mass-dissemination of the emperor's image, name, title and political messages. With the demise

¹³³ The photo features three posters of the late Pakistani president Zia-ul-Haq. A text over the left image makes clear that this is a memorial set up after his death in 1988 (information on the text and its meaning kindly supplied by Dr Crispin Bates).

¹³⁴ Witschel (2002) 370-371.

of provincial coinage in the first century in the west and the later third century even in the last strongholds in the east, official coin production was entirely state-controlled. Milestones of our period, far from documenting road maintenance history, were the cheapest and most widely employed medium left to local communities and governors to showcase their political allegiance. They are symptomatic of a time of intense local rivalry in publicly demonstrating subservience to a rapid succession of emperors, before most dedicators would have had a chance to form an opinion on their qualities.

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PER UNA INTERPRETAZIONE DEI GRAFFITI PRIVATI E
DELL'ECONOMIA QUOTIDIANA A POMPEI
(CON PARTICOLARE RIGUARDO ALLE LISTE DI PREZZI)

Abstract: At Pompeii and Herculaneum, the graffiti allow us to observe some daily purchases of their inhabitants. We have graffiti with lists of expenses and prices, some of them even dealt out day by day. I suggest an interpretation which inserts these lists in the context of the rent management within the *insulae*. Moreover, I compare the lists of prices with the menu painted at the *Thermae Maritimae* of Herculaneum and with some Pompeii and Herculaneum piecework salaries, and try to draw conclusions about the standard of living and the economic expectations of the poor freemen.

Delle 8.000 iscrizioni su muro presenti a Pompei, circa 5.000 sono graffiti¹. Ogni edificio di Pompei contiene in media 70 graffiti al suo interno². Alcuni di essi sono incisi, altri dipinti, altri ancora tracciati al carbone. Esistono varie tipologie; la più diffusa e studiata è quella elettorale. I candidati alle elezioni municipali amano farsi rappresentare da scritte che recano il loro nome, più o meno abbreviato, corredato da esortazioni al voto sponsorizzate da parte di eminenti personaggi, o da associazioni. Alcune di queste iscrizioni sono dipinte con estrema chiarezza, con un tipo di grafia stilizzata (la cosiddetta *scriptura actuaria*) e non senza eleganza, tanto da far pensare che a redigerle siano degli incaricati professionali. Anche per questo, i manifesti elettorali sono di facile riconoscimento, una sorta di tipologia a parte, insieme agli avvisi per i pubblici spettacoli, i cosiddetti *libelli munerarii*. Queste due tipologie di iscrizione saranno a lungo oggetto di studio per la quantità di informazioni e di problematiche che presentano, ma la loro funzione non è in discussione e si piegano ad essere classificate.

Tale facilità di classificazione non si riscontra con la miriade di messaggi privati sparsi in tutta la città, non solo e non tanto all'esterno degli edifici, quanto al loro interno. È possibile, anche di questi, qualche schematizzazione, ma essa risulterà sempre alquanto arbitraria, finché non ne sarà chiarita la rispettiva funzione sociale. In modo semplice, si può classificare questo genere di graffiti come segue:

- (1) Iscrizioni dotate solo del nome di chi scrive, talvolta con l'aggiunta *hic fuit*.

¹ Wallace (2005) ix-xvi.

² Benefiel (2011) 20-48, part. 20.

- (2) Saluti dello scrivente a un'altra persona.
- (3) Dialoghi tra più interlocutori, che usano il muro come veicolo del messaggio.
- (4) Brani poetici, talvolta anche di autore letterario (Virgilio e Lucrezio sono in primo piano), talaltra di matrice popolare.
- (5) Liste di spesa e note di conto.

In questo studio, ci occuperemo da vicino solo di quest'ultimo tipo di iscrizione. A un livello preliminare e generale, bisogna che il lettore faccia uno sforzo per comprendere dove sia la difficoltà con questa schematizzazione, che abbiamo elencato. Essa rispecchia, infatti, quello che un osservatore esterno al contesto sociale, temporalmente e spazialmente, può evidenziare. Il vero dilemma di chi intenda occuparsi dell'aspetto storico, in questo caso, non è dato tanto dall'iscrizione in sé. Sotto questo profilo, sono già state condotte, da più parti, utili osservazioni. Ad esempio, si è notato come i graffiti riportino molto spesso il nome dello scrivente. Da questo solo dato, alcune conseguenze devono pur derivare. Una di esse è la mancanza di divieti nello scrivere. La vita urbana pubblica è gestita dagli edili, che senz'altro saranno stati affiancati da una qualche forza dell'ordine, occasionalmente anche dagli stessi pretoriani, che sono talvolta attestati nelle nostre iscrizioni. Se avessero voluto vietare le scritte sui muri, almeno quelle di natura privata, avevano i mezzi per farlo, o almeno ci sarebbe stata una qualche forma di riservatezza nello scrivere il proprio nome, in una città dove chi risiedeva in modo stabile non poteva facilmente sfuggire. Il fatto è che tale divieto non esisteva e non solo nella sfera pubblica, ma nemmeno in quella privata. Troviamo dipinti simili anche all'interno di alcune *domus*, nonostante le pareti fossero architettonicamente curate e affrescate. Li troviamo nei peristili, ma anche nei *cubacula*, negli *oeci*, dove il *dominus* teneva verosimilmente il suo studio, come nei *tablina*, dove si tenevano incontri conviviali. L'osservatore moderno viene spiazzato prima di tutto dalla disponibilità del padrone di casa a consentire che i muri della propria residenza vengano imbrattati, tanto più se a farlo erano gli schiavi della casa. Sembra quasi, invece, che tale pratica venga addirittura incentivata, come appare ad esempio dai dialoghi, in cui lo scrivente si aspetta una risposta da chi legge.

Una seconda difficoltà, forse la principale, è poi data dal motivo che porta queste persone a scrivere sui muri. In alcuni casi si può facilmente pensare a un bisogno narcisistico; ad esempio, le scritte di natura erotica, che di solito magnificano la potenza virile, del tipo *hic futui*, talvolta

addirittura seguita dalla data esatta dell'evento (cfr. 4260) sono comprensibili come sfogo personale, o vanteria. Chi scrive vuole far conoscere al mondo la sua impresa, forse anche rendere noto a tutti il luogo dove l'ha compiuta, ad es. 4264: *Iucundus cunum lingit rusticae*. Ma come mai una persona vorrebbe far sapere a tutti, ad esempio, che è stato lì «da povero qualsiasi», come ad esempio nella seguente, 4113-4114: *C. Cresces cum quidam pauper?* Una risposta, alquanto sbrigativa, potrebbe essere che il *fuit* c'è, ma è sottinteso. Talvolta è sicuramente così, ad esempio nella *taberna* n. 20 dell'Insula 2 Regio I, dove troviamo che c'è un certo Ampliatius Afer, il quale è un personaggio noto, dotato di *corona* (disegnata sotto il suo nome a 3936), forse un gladiatore, destinatario o autore di più graffiti, uno addirittura in versi (3932), nel quale le ragazze lo lodano perché egli, dicono, *paedicat cunne superbe*. Chi scrive prende proprio un impegno solenne: *scribes toties venit*. Tale Ampliatius è segnalato, nella stessa *taberna*, anche come segue 3940: *Ampliate Afer ubique* e ancora: 3941 *Ampliatius cum sui sodalibus hic*. Quella successiva, è di tenore identico, ma più esplicita: 3942: *Ampliatius Afer hic fuit cum suis sodalibus*. Ciò implica che in quella precedente e tutte quelle dove si dice *hic* o *ubique*, almeno nelle *tabernae*, si può sottintendere *fuit*.

Alcune insegne riguardano il luogo d'abitazione, 5069: *Hic domus Papiriu Sabinum*, o 1435: *felix est Ianuarius Fuficius qui hic habitat*, ma si osservi la seguente, nella Regio IX Ins. 7, aed. 3, davanti all'*ostium* 7, dove troviamo una scritta che dice, 3790-3791: *P. Aemilius Celer / A. Rustium* e, appena più sotto, 3794: *Aemilius Celer hic habitat / vina vostra dede[...]*. Si è davanti alla casa di Emilio Celere, che *saluta* Aulo Rustio. Ma perché mai un signore dovrebbe salutare un altro signore davanti casa sua, scrivendolo sul muro? E perché segnalare, dopo il fatto che abita lì, qualcosa a proposito di vini?

Alla base di queste legittime domande, c'è che ogni scritta che troviamo sui muri ha la sua storia specifica e non sempre abbiamo il modo di conoscerla. La conseguenza di ciò è che la maggior parte di quello che vediamo scritto, e che abbia una destinazione privata, rimane per noi difficilmente interpretabile. Gli esempi concreti parlano più facilmente di qualsiasi teorizzazione. Si tratta spesso di casi alquanto facili, addirittura banali da leggere in senso letterale, ma la situazione che sta alle loro spalle ci sfugge. Appena un esempio, tra i tantissimi. Su una colonna di un peristilio, si legge, testualmente, 4600: *(h)oc celer fecite*. Che *fecite* sia scritto con la «e» e non con la «a», oppure che *hoc* sia scritto senza «h», non è un problema grave, trattandosi di scrittura quotidiana.

Ma che senso può avere, scrivere un «fatelo in fretta» su una colonna di una casa privata? Fare in fretta, che cosa? Un monito per la servitù? Un consiglio filosofico? Oppure, sotto (o sopra) quella scritta c'era qualcosa, che doveva suggerire *cosa* bisognava fare in fretta? O ancora, forse che Celere è una persona e il *fecite* è un errore per *fecit*, quindi dovremmo leggere: «Questo l'ha fatto Celere», sicché dovremmo pensare che il peristilio, o forse l'arredamento del luogo centrale, cui il peristilio sta intorno, o magari qualcos'altro che non sappiamo, ma che il lettore doveva avere ben presente, sono opera di questo personaggio. Tutte queste interpretazioni sono valide, finché non avremo un discrimine oggettivo. È precisamente questo aspetto, che ci rende queste scritte così affascinanti, ma anche così impalpabili. Più che scoraggiarsi nell'impresa di voler comprendere questi disegni, sorge piuttosto la necessità di creare uno o più metodi per studiarle.

La prima indagine che si è compiuta, è quella di individuare quali graffiti presentano caratteristiche in comune, tali da poter essere accorpate in insiemi. Il metodo è utilizzato da C. Zangemeister (1906), il quale distingue i graffiti dai dipinti, sulla base del modo in cui erano vergati, se cioè disegnati (dipinti), oppure incisi o graffiati con il carboncino (graffiti). A prescindere dal fatto che Zangemeister ha incluso alcuni dei dipinti nei graffiti³, questo, o analoghi metodi di classificazione, sono più o meno efficaci a seconda dell'utilità del tipo di insieme che produce. La classificazione per metodo scrittorio, come quella per argomento, trovano un inconveniente nel fatto che non rendono conto della tipologia funzionale per cui una scritta viene apposta sul muro. La tecnica in cui vengono tracciati potrebbe non essere rilevante per comprendere la funzione comunicativa. Dal punto di vista di quest'ultima, solo alcune categorie sono state già rilevate. Ad esempio, nell'ambito dei dipinti, si distinguono i *programmata* dagli *edicta munerum*.

I graffiti privati, però, non hanno ancora dato fondo, nella moderna trattatistica, a tale approfondimento. Si è distinto il graffito in versi da quello in prosa, piuttosto che quello dialogato dal monologo; il graffito scritto dalle donne da quello scritto dagli uomini; quello a tema erotico, piuttosto che quello a tema economico. Ovviamente, classificare è necessario ogniqualevolta si voglia studiare il graffito in generale, come modalità di espressione⁴.

³ Benefiel (2011) 41 n. 2.

⁴ Baird & Taylor (2011) 4.

Ma tutti questi insiemi non riguardano ancora un'analisi della funzione sociale del graffito, se intendiamo quest'ultima come il ruolo di esso all'interno delle relazioni sociali. Quali caratteristiche, in un graffito, possono far risaltare tale funzione?

Una potrebbe essere la seguente: graffiti scritti per esprimere emozioni private a un pubblico indefinito (che comprende se stessi) e graffiti scritti per comunicare messaggi.

I messaggi sono sempre utilizzati per essere letti. Ma lo scrittore, al di là del contenuto, è mosso sempre da due motivazioni alternative, che si escludono a vicenda. O egli reagisce a un impulso personale, o ha una motivazione comunicativa consapevole. Quanto all'impulso psicologico, scrivere il proprio nome sul muro è un modo per dimostrare, a se stesso e al mondo, che si esiste. È anche un modo per scoprire la propria identità, in quanto il segno che porta il nome, è un po' come uno specchio, che suggerisce, al soggetto che lo guarda, l'immagine di se stesso. Non è affatto detto che schiavi e liberti siano i più adatti a comprendere questo bisogno; non vi è proprio nulla, in definitiva, che possa escludere i più agiati da tale pratica⁵. Scrivere il proprio nome senza alcun motivo è un'attività profondamente autonoma e creativa. Dobbiamo inoltre immaginare che comporre un graffito con uno strumento tagliente, o tracciarlo con un carboncino, con la complicata grafia che vediamo applicare, non doveva essere così facile e, soprattutto, così breve a farsi come lo sarebbe per noi imbrattare un muro con una biro o un pennarello. L'autore ci si doveva applicare e non sempre il risultato è eccellente, come possiamo notare più volte (es. si noti la pessima grafia di 4624, sotto una colonna di un peristilio: *Ti. Pacatus* e subito sotto 4625: *P. Numisius Hyla*). Chi sa tracciare il proprio nome con qualche correttezza, se ne fa un vanto e non è escluso che la sua scrittura potesse coinvolgere più persone, diventando pratica sociale, con gli autori che si guardano i graffiti l'un l'altro, riconoscendo e confrontando la loro abilità nel farlo. Questa chiave di lettura, se non altro, chiarisce alcuni atteggiamenti, ad esempio perché il Cresces di 4113-4114 ami definirsi un *quidam pauper*. Forse ha sentito il bisogno di autocommiserarsi, o forse l'epiteto non l'ha aggiunto lui, ma è stato aggiunto da un suo amico. Ad ogni modo si è costruita con le parole, sul muro, una sua immagine. Questo tipo di bisogni non è scontato e ci parla di una condizione psicologica che può aiutare a comprendere le condizioni di vita di chi scrive. Frustrazione e identità personale poco elaborata razionalmente; ma anche un forte

⁵ Allison (2001a) 53-74.

desiderio di condivisione. Oggi pochi adulti potrebbero scrivere il proprio nome o quello di un loro amico su un muro di un'osteria o di una casa privata, dove tutti possano vederlo, anche se potessero e se fossero certi che il padrone di casa non si arrabbierà per questo⁶. La diffusione endemica di tali scritte rivela pertanto un certo spirito comunitario, che non teme l'intrusione nella sfera privata, che distingue poco e male le due sfere. Narcisismo, egocentrismo, identità poco strutturata sono caratteri psicologici che potrebbero non interessare uno storico, se intesi a livello individuale. Se però ci si accorge che un'intera città ne subisce il condizionamento, anzi li incoraggia (persino *CIL* IV 1490, che depreca la loro abbondanza, in realtà può essere inteso, in assenza di divieto, come un incoraggiamento), allora il valore storico e sociale di quella osservazione diventa rilevante.

Veniamo dunque al secondo motivo che spinge una persona a scrivere sui muri, ovvero la necessità di lasciare dei messaggi per gli altri.

I casi più facili di questo tipo sono le «etichette», ovvero le intestazioni di proprietà (del tipo già osservato: 5069: *Hic domus Papirius Sabinum*, o 1435: *felix est Ianuarius Fuficius qui hic habitat*). In questo caso, la funzione della scritta è evidente.

Più complesso è comprendere la funzione dei numerosissimi saluti, o dei dialoghi.

Ci limitiamo a trascrivere uno tra gli esempi più significativi e studiati — un altro lo vedremo più oltre:

- [8270] Prima Secu(n)do salute(m) plurima 8271
- [8272] Secundus 8272
- [8364] Secundus / Prim(a)e suae ubi/que i<ps>e salute(m) Rogo
domina / ut me ames
- [8365] Secundus / Prim(a)e suae / Secud(us)
- [8366] Secundus / Pr(imae)
- [8367a] Prima
- [8367b] Prim(a)
- [8367c] [P]rimi[ge] / aic

Quanto alla relazionalità affettiva che le scritte talvolta dimostrano, non va esagerata; non si tratta di persone legate da particolari vincoli, piuttosto da reciproca cortesia. Prima e Secondo non sono amanti; dato

⁶ Ricorrente nei moderni è l'interpretazione che molti graffiti abbiano per autori dei giovanissimi, cfr. Kruschwitz & H. Halla-aho (2007) 31-49, part. 37. La buffa caricatura del maestro barbuto che dice, come in un fumetto, a 4648: *SSC...Carmin(a) ista(!)* è senz'altro uno di questi casi, come anche i vari tentativi di alfabeto, ecc. Ma non bisognerebbe generalizzare, perché nelle stanze dove si banchetta e le scritte sono a livello di *trichlinium*, le persone che scrivono sono distese e ai bambini ciò non sarebbe consentito.

che Secondo chiama *domina* la sua Prima, può essere che quest'ultima sia una donna libera. Salutandola, dimostra alla signora che lui è stato lì, e magari, quella cosa che doveva fare, evidentemente l'ha fatta. La padrona gli risponde, non sempre e senza altrettanti convenevoli, che ha recepito il messaggio e, insieme, che sta controllando il suo lavoro.

Un'altra modalità di saluto dialogato è quello che si riscontra in un *tablinum* della Casa dei Quattro Stili. Se ne trovano qui circa una dozzina, più o meno in dialogo tra loro e, caso particolare, tra sole donne⁷. Il significato di questi saluti dipende verosimilmente dal luogo in cui essi vengono prestati. Le signore si incontrano tutte insieme e, a un certo momento, si lasciano l'una l'altra questi saluti. Primeggia tra esse una certa Quartilla, unico nome latino tra i tanti greci. M. Della Corte⁸ ipotizzava che essa fosse in una condizione sociale superiore alle altre, ma l'ipotesi deve essere abbandonata, perché è escluso che le persone di ceto inferiore non posano avere anch'esse nomi latini, o quelle di ceto superiore nomi greci⁹. Tale densità di saluti femminili non si riscontra in alcun altro luogo di Pompei. La loro funzione è ovviamente destinata a rimanere per lo più oscura. E tuttavia, il *tablinum* non è un luogo di passaggio, bensì un luogo dove le persone si incontrano per stare insieme. Può essere, allora, che le persone si salutino come pratica sociale; forse per testimoniare che hanno gradito l'ospitalità, o anche per avvisare della loro presenza chi sta per arrivare e, per motivi occasionali, non ha fatto in tempo ad incontrarle. Chiunque fosse la padrona di casa, evidentemente, non si sente offesa che le sue amiche, o forse le sue dipendenti, scrivano sui muri del *tablinum*, la pratica sociale è evidentemente ammessa. E ciò doveva anche comportare qualche periodica spesa per ridipingere la parete, non tanto perché sarebbe diventata, prima o poi, piena di scritte, quanto per non confondere la temporalità delle medesime.

Emerge dunque un'importante funzione sociale della scritta, di cui ci occuperemo più volte nel corso del presente studio, ovvero quella del controllo a distanza. Questa funzione dimostra che le relazioni interpersonali non solo sono particolarmente intense, ma si manifestano nella scrittura in modalità organizzata. Questo aspetto emergerà con maggiore chiarezza quando parleremo degli affitti e dei nomi singoli che compaiono presso le *insulae*, o le *officinae*.

⁷ Benefiel (2011) 24-26.

⁸ Della Corte (1965³) 311-312.

⁹ Castrèn (1975) 264; Salomies (2001) 141-187.

LE LISTE DI SPESA

Pompei ci offre la possibilità di verificare alcune spese quotidiane dei suoi abitanti. Ci sono rimaste graffite delle liste di spesa con i prezzi relativi, alcune addirittura divise per giorno. La difficoltà maggiore con questi graffiti è comprendere in che contesto siano stati scritti.

Consideriamo l'esempio relativo a Gaio Giunio. Costui è citato a Pompei nell'*aedes* 3, *insula* 5 della Regio V. Sul muro di una *cella*, qualcuno traccia il seguente graffito, che lo riguarda:

CIL IV 4422:

C. Iunius

vino IS

casu a. IIIII

[....] a. IIIS

ligna III

oleum a. [.....]

cepa [.....]

vino [.....]

L'iscrizione genera molteplici interrogativi. Siccome la lista è scritta nell'interno dell'abitazione e presenta un nome proprio al suo interno, si esclude l'intenzione di mettere in vendita i prodotti descritti¹⁰. L'intenzione sembrerebbe dunque quella di fare un conteggio delle spese; eppure, sfugge il senso della modalità comunicativa, di scrivere la lista sulla parete di casa. Un motivo potrebbe essere quello che il soggetto non ha a disposizione altro materiale scrittorio che non sia il muro. Ma se fosse un promemoria, per ricordarsi quanto gli rimane da spendere, ciò dovrebbe essere vero per un tempo continuato e dunque l'iscrizione dovrebbe allungarsi di più che qualche riga; ciò che non pare sia accaduto in modo sufficiente a giustificare questa interpretazione¹¹. Pertanto, a livello strettamente metodologico, anche se non abbiamo

¹⁰ Come invece potrebbe darsi per l'iscrizione *CIL* IV 8561, che si rinviene su una colonna della palestra, con i prezzi relativi a prodotti alimentari tutti adatti ad un consumo da asporto. Cfr. Perassi (1998) 7-11; Breglia (1950) 41-59, part. 49; Dapoto (1987) 91-106.

¹¹ La sola *CIL* IV 5380, come vedremo, indica una spesa divisa in 9 giorni (ed altri non si leggono più, ma dovevano esserci); ma se ciò potesse essere vero per periodi troppo lunghi, allora le pareti non potrebbero bastare. Bisogna dunque approfondire il motivo che possa spingere alla composizione di queste liste, perché esso non può essere dovuto soltanto a motivi mnemonici (nel caso specifico, la scritta è anche vergata con troppa precisione e tecnica per supporlo).

prove inconfutabili per affermare l'incongruenza di tale interpretazione, ciò nonostante essa genera quesiti che non riusciamo a spiegarci.

Qui di seguito, invece, esaminiamo una possibilità la quale, anche se, al pari di quella già fornita, non offre alcuna prova incontrovertibile, tuttavia, al contrario di quella appena descritta, offre una spiegazione di più fenomeni contemporaneamente e risolve le obiezioni riscontrate da quella.

Essa consiste nella possibilità che l'iscrizione sia non un promemoria personale, ma un messaggio per qualcun altro e che si voglia avvisare che Gaio Giunio, durante la sua permanenza, si è impegnato, o è tenuto, a spendere quel denaro per comprare — o far comprare a qualcun altro — quei generi di prima necessità. Questa seconda interpretazione si può confermare grazie a un'altra iscrizione (*CIL* IV 5380), dove vengono riservati particolari acquisti a particolari ospite o abitanti della casa.

L'iscrizione compare nell'*atrium* dell'*insula* 7 nella Regio IX (*CIL* IV 5380):

VIII Idus casium I	Casium II
Pane VIII	Botellum I
Oleum III	Casium molle IV
Vinum III	Oleum VII
VII Idus	Servato
Pane VIII	Montona X I
Oleum V	Oleum X I
Cepas V	Pane IV
Pultarium I	caseum IV
Pane puero II	porrum I
Vinum II	pro patella I
VI Idus pane IV	sittua II VIII
Halica III	inltynium I
V Idus	III Idus pane II
Vinum domatori X	Pane puero II
Pane VIII	Pri. Idus
Vinum II	Puero pane II
Casium II	Pane cibarii
IV Idus HXIIIRIIS X	Porrum I
pane II	Idibus pane II
Femininum VIII	Pane cibar(ium) II
Tridicum X I	Oleum V
Budella I	Halica II
Palmas I	Domator(i) pisciculum II
Thus I	

M. Della Corte¹², che segue A. Mau, riteneva questa iscrizione relativa ai conti di un *hospitium*, o di una *caupona*. L'ambiente era collegato fisicamente con un esercizio adibito alla vendita, che dava sulla strada¹³. Nell'iscrizione, i prezzi per la stessa vivanda oscillano da un giorno all'altro. Inoltre, sono citati alcuni precisi destinatari. C. Perassi ritiene che in questa lista si possa ravvedere la spesa di una famiglia di tre persone. Questa lettura ci aiuta a orientarci su un utilizzo residenziale dell'*insula*. E tuttavia questi destinatari non sono molto ricorrenti (compaiono solo due volte). Piuttosto, la lista è mostrata nell'*atrium*, che è uno spazio pubblico, anche se connesso, ovviamente, con le attività di tutta l'*insula*; e un' *insula*, anche se solo di un paio di piani, può contenere certamente più di una famiglia di tre persone.

Avanziamo dunque un' interpretazione che potrebbe spiegare meglio questa situazione e cioè che tale lista sia a beneficio degli *insularii*. Il *dominus*, o il *conductor* dell'attività (che potrebbe riguardare gli affitti o le pigioni, se davvero si tratta di un *hospitium*), dispone l'acquisto di alimenti per il vitto degli inquilini. E il conteggio è reso pubblico affinché possa essere controllato facilmente sia dagli stessi *insularii*, sia dal *conductor*. Gli acquisti cambiano dunque di giorno in giorno, a seconda delle quantità che servono e, talvolta, qualche acquisto è destinato al del personale dipendente esterno (*domator*, *puer*). Ciò spiega anche gli oggetti non di uso alimentare presenti nella lista, (*thys*, *femininum*, *inlytym*, *sittua*), alcuni elencati sotto la dicitura *SERVATO* che, se non è un nome proprio, indica un'azione da compiere, ovvero «da stipare».

In definitiva, possiamo dire che questa iscrizione riguarda degli ordini, impartiti su cosa comprare giorno per giorno, quanto spendere e cosa tenere

¹² Mau (1882) 137-148, 176-184; Fiorelli (1875) 304; Della Corte (1954²) 164; potrebbe trattarsi di "una famiglia di tre persone", come ritiene C. Perassi, purché il *domator*, citato alle Idi V, e il *puer*, citato alle idi III, non ne facciano parte; solo che non si comprende come una sola famiglia potrebbe utilizzare un luogo pubblico per l'affissione di quello che compra. Più generico Cooley & Cooley (2004) 163, il quale si riferisce al contenuto dell'iscrizione come cibo venduto o comprato.

¹³ La possibilità di rilevare una chiara distinzione delle funzioni relative ai vari spazi utilizzati nelle *insulae*, in particolare per gli esercizi adibiti alla vendita, o anche la differenza tra *cauponae*, *thermopolia* e *hospitia*, è stata messa in dubbio da Kleberg, (1957) 36-44, seguito da Packer (1978) 5-51; Hermansen (1981) 196-203; Robinson (1992) 135-157; Wallace-Hadrill (1994) 46. Nel caso specifico, possiamo desumere la funzione di *hospitium* dalla presenza della lista. Anche se il *domator* e il *puer* non è detto che siano ospiti, ma potrebbero essere semplicemente dei dipendenti occasionali remunerati a cottimo, l'esistenza stessa della lista nell'atrio non avrebbe senso se la gestione dell'*insula* non fosse stata centralizzata, il che implica l'impiego di *insularii* e, di conseguenza, di persone a vitto.

in dispensa. Si deve presumere che vi fosse la possibilità, magari mensile, che venisse eventualmente aggiornato e riscritto, facendo ridipingere la parete.

Perciò, *CIL* IV 5380 ci testimonia l'interesse di manifestare in pubblico gli acquisti quotidiani, affinché ci si possa accordare, per così dire sotto gli occhi di tutti, su quanto si è speso.

L'interpretazione illumina anche le altre liste. Grazie ad essa si concretizza la possibilità che gli avventori, che dormivano a pagamento nelle *cellae* delle *insulae*, potessero, in modo analogo, manifestare pubblicamente cosa intendessero mangiare, per farselo poi predisporre dagli addetti alla manutenzione dell'*insula*. Infatti, finché il pagamento poteva avvenire *graeca fide*¹⁴ — se possiamo utilizzare quest'espressione plautina — era inutile alcuna registrazione. Ma poteva avvenire che il cliente non pagasse immediatamente alla consegna, ma in un conto finale. La pigione poteva essere uguale per tutti, ma non così il vitto, che cambiava da persona a persona. Pertanto emergeva, a fine soggiorno, la necessità di fare un conteggio in chiaro e la trattativa poteva portare a delle discussioni. Segnare sul muro il consumo ad ogni consegna, poteva aiutare a rendere palese e convenuto ciò che veniva consumato. Si trattava di qualcosa di visibile a tutti, che poteva rimpiazzare le *oculatae manus*, per dirla nei termini di Plauto. Del resto, ciò avviene, a Pompei, anche per i debiti e i crediti¹⁵.

Esiste pertanto la possibilità di una funzione comunicativa di queste scritte, che si lega in certo qual modo alle notizie graffite intorno al nome degli inquilini, o dei gestori, o anche semplicemente di chi trova alloggio temporaneo. Vediamo desso come questa interpretazione potrebbe spiegare diversi contesti.

CIL IV 4272 accenna a una spesa definita *communis*¹⁶. In una *cella* dell'*insula* 3 nella Regio I, si può leggere la seguente nomenclatura (*CIL* IV 3964):

Communi X [III]
 Successus X III
 Nicep(h)or HS X
 Amunus X IV
 Cresimi verna X IV

¹⁴ Plaut. *Asin.* 199-202: *ceterum quae volumus uti Graeca mercamur fide / quom a pistore panem petimus, vinum ex oenopolio, / si aes habent, dant mercem: eadem nos disciplina utimur / semper oculatae manus sunt nostrae, credunt quod vident.*

¹⁵ Cfr. *CIL* IV 4528.

¹⁶ Cfr. *CIL* IV 4272 (Regio V ins. 4 in corte aedium): *ColImmunem / comunem numum divid[e](mus?)*.

Anche se il primo potrebbe essere un nome proprio e non un sostantivo come in 4272, si tratta comunque di una lista di nomi con associate delle somme di denaro. Quale che ne sia il senso, essa ha però una finalità non soggettiva, ma pubblica; in qualche modo, mette in chiaro un pagamento che è avvenuto, o che si vuole che avvenga.

A questo punto, emerge la possibilità di integrare tali liste nel funzionamento di un particolare sistema sociale, che è quello degli alloggi a pagamento. Tale sistema ruota intorno a una precisa scala gerarchica, che comprende il *dominus*, ovvero il proprietario dell'immobile, un *conductor*, che è il gestore dello stesso e gli *insularii*, che sono gli addetti alla manutenzione materiale¹⁷.

Quest'ultima figura ci interessa più da vicino. Tra le poche attestazioni letterarie di essa vi sono un luogo del *Satyricon* di Petronio (95), uno dei *Carmina Priapaea* (30.19), più un paio di passi del *Digesto*¹⁸. Altre attestazioni si derivano poi da fonte epigrafica¹⁹. La loro funzione era quella di occuparsi della gestione degli immobili in affitto per conto del proprietario, oltre che essere garanti dell'applicazione delle pubbliche disposizioni in materia di alloggi²⁰. A fronte di così esigua testimonianza diretta, questa figura doveva essere fondamentale per portare avanti l'attività, in particolar modo quando pochi proprietari si spartivano molte *insulae*²¹. In particolare, la necessità di riscuotere del denaro in cambio della permanenza presso una *cella* di un'*insula*, doveva

¹⁷ Tra le mansioni degli *insularii* vi è, oltre alla gestione materiale delle case d'affitto, anche la riscossione della pigione (in tal caso, vengono anche chiamati *collectores*). *Dig.* 50.16.166 (Pomponio); *Dig.* 1.15.4 (Ulpiano), ma sono probabilmente *insularii* anche i *coctores* a Petr. *Sat.* 95. Cfr. Frier (1980) 29-30 e 59. In realtà esistono *insularii* che sono anche gestori degli immobili, per cui si confondono talvolta con i *vilici rustici*, o con gli *institores*. In particolare Dubouloz (2011) 180-184 li ritiene anche destinatari della *praepositio* per conto del *dominus*, quindi con possibile ruolo di *conductores* in proprio dell'immobile. Si veda anche la collaborazione tra *procuratores* e *actores* (probabilmente in ruolo subordinato) nella cura della proprietà del padrone, che emerge in Plin. *Ep.* 3.19.2. Nelle iscrizioni, ad ogni modo, gli *insularii* sono intesi per lo più come schiavi riscossori: *CIL* VI 9383; 8650; 8655 = *ILS* 1629, Boulvert (1970) 81; Aubert (1994) 183-186; Carlsen (1999) 33-34; Hasegawa (2005) 48; Fercia (2008) 133. Per un commento di Petr. *Sat.* 95, Lucarini (2003) 245-252; Santamato (2010) 71-113.

¹⁸ *D.* 50.16.166; *D.* 1.15.4.

¹⁹ *CIL* VI 6217 (*decurio insulariorum*); VI 8855.

²⁰ *D.* 50.16.166; *D.* 1.15.4.

²¹ Per Pompeii: *CIL* IV 138 (la famosa *Insula Arriana* Polliana) e IV 1136: *In praedis Iuliae Sp. f. Felicis / locantur / balneum venerium et nogentum tabernae pergulae / cenacula ex Idibus Aug. Primis in Idus Aug. sextas annos continuos quinque. S(i) q(inquenium) d(eccurrerit) l(ocatio) e(sto) n(udo) c(onsensu)*. Cfr. Pirson (1997) 165-181; Dubouloz (2011) 182.

generare alcuni problemi logistici e di trattamento della clientela. Nel caso di inquilini a lunga permanenza, reperirli ed esigere il pagamento era più facile — un esempio è quello di Vacerra, l'inquilino sfrattato che descrive Marziale (12.32). Per questi, è forse sufficiente segnalare il nome proprio, come sulla colonna del peristilio dell'*insula* 14 della Regio VI (*CIL* IV 4514).

Per i meno agiati e conosciuti in città, una certa difficoltà doveva essere dovuta all'identificazione. In una condizione generale di veloce ricambio nelle *cellae* e nei *cubiculi* dei *deversoria*²² (ogni *cella* poteva contenere anche due inquilini), l'addetto doveva ricordarsi i nomi di ognuno e i relativi conti. In assenza di documenti d'identità, una persona poteva dare informazioni fuorvianti, o nomi di comodo. L'*insula-rius* avrà anche avuto dei registri ma, in assenza di documenti che viaggiano con il cliente, doveva ad ogni modo trovare un metodo per riconoscere le persone che venivano a dormire nelle *cellae*, visivamente e fisicamente. Doveva segnalarlo forse anche al resto del personale. Se, ad esempio, un cliente ordinava del vino nella sua *cella*, chi prendeva l'ordinazione doveva ricordare l'ordinazione anche a beneficio degli altri *insularii*. Lasciarlo per iscritto su un registro non poteva essere sufficiente, perché all'uscita il cliente avrebbe potuto spacciarsi per un altro.

A Pompei abbiamo alcuni graffiti, talvolta vistosamente osceni, o anche apparentemente futili, che però possono essere intesi proprio come dei segnali che servono a identificare. Si veda la seguente, che si compone di due scritte, la prima sopra la seconda (Regio IX, *insula* 7):

- [5242] Quodam quidem testis eris quid senserim vae! cacaturiero veniam
 cacatum
 memoria
 [5244] Marthae in hoc trichlinium /
 Est nam in trichlinio
 catat.

²² Non è sempre possibile in questa sede distinguere tra *cellae* per affitto continuato e *deversoria* per alloggio temporaneo, sul modello dell'albergo, in quanto è impossibile sapere sempre con certezza quale abitazione svolgeva la precisa funzione. Ad ogni modo, dal punto di vista dei pagamenti la situazione è comparabile nei due casi, perché in entrambi è necessario prendere nota dell'identità dei locatari. Inoltre, la situazione non è da considerarsi così rigidamente schematizzata. Anche se le due forme abitative a pagamento sono distinguibili, è sempre possibile che si verificassero casi ambigui, ad esempio di residenti che affittano camere per poche notti, o di pigionanti che si fermano per un tempo indefinito.

Ora, questo *trichlinium*, se non si allude proprio a una *cella*, è comunque un luogo dell'*insula*. La persona che va a dormire lì, verrà subito identificata come «Marta» e associata alla bizzarra situazione descritta.

Se l'iscrizione può identificare le persone, si risolvono anche i dubbi legittimi che molto spesso sorgono in merito ai saluti: [4778] *Cresces Hispano salutem*, [4742] *Cresces spatilio salutem* [4755] *Cresces fulloni salutem*. Questi saluti, spesso indirizzati dalla stessa persona, talvolta (è il caso di [4742]) accompagnati da vistosi disegni, denotano, lo si è già detto, concrete relazioni personali. Ma anche, a questo punto del nostro ragionamento, servono a segnalare che in quella casa si è stati identificati e che l'*insularius*, o il *conductor*, o anche uno per conto dell'altro (in questo caso il nome espresso è Cresces), può compiere qualche verifica²³. Talvolta, queste scritte sono più che compatibili con liste di inquilini, come la seguente: [4768] *Crome, cum noverca, tres pannosi, pater cum Aglae*. Si segnala, così, che in quel *meritorium* abitano quelle cinque persone: un certo Cromo con una donna più anziana di lui, tre individui con le vesti logore e una bambina di nome Agla, con suo padre. Oppure: [4767] *Fumidus, cum archimimo a sipario receptus*. Si segnala che in quel luogo vive un tipo che puzza di fumo (o fa un mestiere che ha a che fare con il fuoco), insieme a un mimo che dorme avvolto in una tenda da teatro. Come si vede, nomi propri a parte, di ognuno si mostra un segno particolare di riconoscimento: c'è chi porta un vistoso braccialetto, o un pugnale (*spatilio*), chi si accompagna a una vecchia, chi a una bambina, chi è evidentemente mal vestito. Sono spesso caratteristiche negative e superficiali, che saltano all'occhio a un primo sguardo. [8347] *Creescens Cr(h)yseroti salutem. Quid agit tibi dexter ocellus?* In questo caso, l'ospite si identifica con un occhio offeso. Anche le scritte (...) *hic cacat*²⁴ nelle

²³ Quella indicata qui è solo una interpretazione, che forse spiega più fenomeni contemporaneamente. Ovviamente, non tutti i saluti e gli auguri svolgono un ruolo identificativo. Se, ad esempio, Pirro (*CIL* IV 1852) saluta Chio, manifestando preoccupazione per la sua salute, è perché si aspetta che Chio, o qualcuno per lui, leggerà il messaggio in tempi brevi. Cfr. Wallace (2005) 42-49. Un interessante studio sui messaggi graffiti è stato compiuto da Laurence (1998) 88-103, part. 96-100, il quale ha mostrato come il numero di messaggi aumenta in relazione alla centralità della strada e all'aumento delle attività presenti su di essa. Bisognerebbe tuttavia approfondire lo studio statistico e distinguere i messaggi ad interesse pubblico (in primo luogo i *programmata*) da quelli ad uso privato. Inoltre, riportare il numero di quelli graffiti fuori degli edifici con quelli al loro interno.

²⁴ Questo genere di iscrizioni hanno due tipologie. Ci sono quelle del tipo: *caccator cave malum*, le quali esprimono soltanto un divieto, cfr. *CIL* IV 3782; 3832; 4586; 5438; 6641; 7714-7716. Le altre, *CIL* IV 3146; 52542-5244; 4190; 2075; 2416; 3146 e *CIL* X

latrine potrebbero avere una funzione comunicativa per il personale, che in questo modo può associare la persona a un luogo specifico e riconoscerlo (bisogna ricordare che il costume degli antichi romani prevedeva l'uso condiviso della latrina).

Da quanto si è detto, se l'interpretazione qui fornita fosse corretta, si otterrebbe che gli *insularii* si interessano a tutto campo della vita dei loro inquilini all'interno dello stabile, al punto da identificarli e segnarne il passaggio materiale all'interno di esso. Tanto più essi potrebbero occuparsi della loro contabilità e dei consumi. Le liste di generi alimentari comprati, alla luce di tali evidenze, acquistano un senso molto più integrato.

I PREZZI

Veniamo adesso a un'analisi dei prezzi contenuti nelle liste e cerchiamo di comprendere il tenore di vita di coloro che beneficiano di quegli acquisti.

Presso le Terme Marittime (Suburbane) di Ercolano, è reperita la seguente iscrizione:

CIL IV 10674:
 «Nuc(es) biber(ia) XIII
 /singa II /
 panem III/
 o[r]jellas III XII /
 thymatla IIII VIII
 / [...] LI»

Il luogo dove è stata trovata l'iscrizione era adibito alla ristorazione, come dimostra l'iscrizione successiva a questa (*CIL* IV 10675)²⁵, trovata su un'altra parete del locale, che testimonia la soddisfazione di una coppia di avventori. Il menu offerto si compone di una specie di piatto forte, le *nuc(es) biberia*, 2 fette di pancetta, pane, 2 costolette, infine della selvaggina.

8056 (Cagliari) hanno sempre un nome proprio apposto. Di queste, soltanto *CIL* IV 2416 indica un messaggio diverso, ma non è in un' *insula* (Corridoio de' Teatri). Non è in un' *insula* nemmeno *CIL* IV 2125: *Romae cum fructo (cacatri)s*, inoltre il *cacatris* non si legge, ma è forma ricostruita.

²⁵ Sui dipinti e i graffiti di una particolare taberna, nel contesto architettonico e archeologico, Cfr. Jacobelli (1991) 147-152, (1993) 327-335, (1995) 97.

I problemi generati dall'interpretazione di questo «menu» sono numerosi. Si dà per scontato che la lista riguardi i prezzi delle vivande elencate. Questo è sicuro nelle ultime due voci, dove vi sono due numeri: il primo è il numero di pezzi per portata, il secondo è il prezzo. Che sia così anche per le altre voci, dipende dall'intenzione di chi scrive. Tale intenzione si rivela però dalla grafica dell'iscrizione. I numeri del prezzo sono tutti incolonnati tra loro, come quelli della quantità. Dunque il *panem* ha la sua voce nel prezzo, mentre la *singa* ce l'ha nella quantità. Inoltre, la *singa* appare come aggiunta in piccolo, come appendice, forse, delle *nuc(es) biberia*. Infatti, la scritta *singa* non può essere un'aggiunta successiva al resto del graffito perché, se la togliamo, lo spazio tra le voci risulterebbe squilibrato. La *singa* è stata dunque aggiunta in piccolo di proposito, probabilmente come contorno delle *nuc(es) biberia*. Questa aggiunta, contribuisce a spiegare l'alto prezzo delle *nuc(es) biberia*.

A proposito delle *nuc(es)* [o *Nuceriae*?] *biberia*²⁶, a prescindere dal fatto che Nucera è una località nei pressi di Pompei, non è scontato che si tratti di «vino e noci». Innanzitutto, la voce *biberia* è un apax, che potrebbe essere anche inteso come aggettivo, *biberia(e)*. Ammettendo che si tratti di una bevanda, altre iscrizioni a Pompei ed Ercolano forniscono prezzi per il vino che si aggirano sui 12 HS all'anfora²⁷, ovvero 2-4 assi a *sextarius*. Un *sextarius* equivale a poco più di ½ litro. Con 14 assi, se si trattasse soltanto di vino, si potrebbero comprare, a seconda della qualità, dalle 3 alle 7 brocche da mezzo litro. Tuttavia, i prezzi della lista sarebbero di troppo squilibrati a favore delle bevande (sia pur condite con le noci e due fette di pancetta), che verrebbero a costare più della carne. Si profila allora la possibilità che le *nuc(...)* *biberia* siano non una bevanda, ma invece una pietanza, anche di qualche pregio. Oppure, si potrebbe leggere *nuc(...)* *biberia* (quindi con *biberia* come nominativo di

²⁶ Si può confrontare le *nucēs biberiae*, sempre a Pompei, anche con la scherzosa scritta AE 1937,122: *Gaius!* *Sabinus Statio plurima(m) sal(utem) / viator Pompeis pane(m) gustas / Nuceriae bibes / NVC*. «Mangiare a Pompei e bere a Nocera» forse allude a un gioco di parole con le *nuc(...)* *biberia*.

²⁷ Duncan-Jones (1982) 46 n. 3. Cfr. *CIL* IV 1679; Col. 3.10; *CIL* IX 2689 e la famosa taberna *ad cucumas* presso la Casa del Salone Nero ad Ercolano. Sull'entrata di questa *taberna* si legge la seguente: *AD CUCUMAS / A. IIIS / IIIS / IIIIS / IIS*. Sopra ogni scritta, una brocca. Ora, in termini vinari, il carattere *S* sta per *sextarius*, che equivale più o meno a ½ litro. C'è poi *CIL* IX 2689 = *ILS* 7478, che prevede 1 *sextarius* di vino senza specificare il prezzo, mentre gli altri prezzi sono calcolati in assi.

1^a declinazione) e intendersi una bevanda preparata con le noci, per qualche motivo più costosa del vino comune.

Venendo poi alla questione riguardante i prezzi, essi dovrebbero essere in assi. Da un lato, abbiamo stesso a Pompei alcune liste di alimenti con prezzi in assi che comprendono anche il pane, alimento venduto appunto anche in questo caso²⁸. Se i cittadini tendono, quando si tratta di comprare, a ragionare in assi, è ben difficile che un oste possa pensare di presentare il suo menu in sesterzi senza almeno apporvi una scritta che lo faccia evincere. In secondo luogo, tale contabilità in assi è in linea con iscrizioni le quali riportano, sia pure in epoche diverse e in zone diverse dell'impero ma per acquisti comparabili, dei prezzi in assi o in oboli²⁹. Ovviamente, in questo luogo non intendiamo prescindere dalla questione delle differenze di prezzo nelle varie aree dell'impero e nelle varie epoche, ma soltanto indicare come, oscillazioni di prezzo a parte, limitatamente al I-II sec. d.C., quando le persone si trovano a fare acquisti di piccolo calibro, tendono a calcolare la loro spesa in assi piuttosto che in sesterzi.

Una volta stabilito che i prezzi della nostra lista sono in assi, cerchiamo di comprendere come una cena del genere si adatti al contesto di un possibile avventore.

Se l'avventore si avvalsesse di tutte le portate elencate, con 39 assi (9 HS e 3 assi) consumerebbe: *nuc(...)* *biberia* (qualunque cosa sia), pancetta, 3 costolette e 4 salsicce. Ma anche volendo consumare soltanto una portata, l'avventore difficilmente spenderebbe meno di 8 assi (2 HS).

Questi prezzi, dal punto di vista del ceto libero di status, ma dipendente da una qualche forma lavoro, sono cari?

Quando si ragiona sui prezzi, è quasi naturale l'atteggiamento, per noi moderni, di confrontarli con i salari. Il ruolo del salario nella società antica, tuttavia, è molto diverso che non in quella moderna. Il denaro ad uso personale del cittadino medio dell'impero in condizioni di dipendenza non viene solo dal lavoro o dal salario. *Peculia*, *sportulae* e *commoda* avevano una loro influenza sull'economia quotidiana del ceto

²⁸ Si può considerare anche *CIL* IV 4227: *pan(e)m l(ibram) I s(emissem)*; *CIL* IV 8561 l. 6: *panem a(ssibus) II s(emis)*. In *CIL* IV 8566 il pane manca, ma gli altri alimenti sono comprati in assi.

²⁹ A Lanuvio in età adrianea (*CIL* XIV 2112 = *ILS* 7212) si fanno ancora pani da meno di due assi. Se il testo dice (p. 2 l.15): *Vini boni singulas amphoras panes a(ssium) II*, vuol dire che i *panes* devono costare meno della somma. Ad Efeso, sotto Traiano, con 2 oboli è possibile comprare una *libra* (327 gr.) di pane e 1 *uncia* di pane (cfr. Wankel e.a. (1979-) n. 923). Cfr. Duncan-Jones (1994) 26 n. 43.

povero. Ciò nonostante, le nostre fonti epigrafiche smentiscono l'idea di un popolo romano ozioso come alcuni autori antichi vorrebbero far credere. Inoltre, ozioso o meno, esistevano nella società romana dei lavoratori liberi e pertanto è legittimo porsi domande in relazione a quello che potevano spendere³⁰.

Pompei ed Ercolano offrono delle liste di spesa e qualche prezzo; purtroppo i dati sui salari sono molto esigui, ma hanno almeno il pregio che si possono elencare facilmente:

CIL IV 10606 da Ercolano, pulitura delle latrine, singolarmente o a squadra, per 11 assi³¹.

CIL IV 6877, da Boscotrecase, presenta un'offerta di lavoro in questi termini: «*operariis pane denarium*», anche qui non è specificato se singolarmente o a squadra.

CIL IV 2193 e 1751 presentano prostitute che si fanno pagare 16 assi a prestazione.

CIL IV 4150; 8185; 8511; 8394 presentano prostitute per 2 assi a prestazione

CIL IV 8224 presenta una prostituta che si vende per 2 assi e ½ a prestazione.

CIL IV 4439 presenta una prostituta che si vende per 3 assi a prestazione.

Quanto alla cena alle *Termae Suburbanae* di Ercolano, consumata in tutte le sue portate, costa 39 assi, o meglio 9 HS e 3 assi. Questo prezzo nel caso in cui gli 11 assi di Ercolano e il *denarius* di Boscotrecase siano assegnati a una persona sola, è già maggiore di più di 2 volte il salario giornaliero che si può calcolare a partire dagli esempi riportati. Solo nel felice caso in cui l'operaio o il pulitore di latrine prendessero 11-16 assi

³⁰ Non è ovviamente questa la sede per soffermarci sulla questione dei salari nella Roma antica. Solo per dare qualche approssimativo ragguaglio, per la dimensione sociologica dei salari nella Roma altoimperiale, si fa riferimento a Corbier (1980). Per un approccio più quantitativo, si veda lo studio di Szaivert & Walters (2005), il quale oltre a una rassegna critica dei dati, fornisce un adeguato *status quaestionis*. Inoltre, ricordiamo almeno due lavori, ormai classici: Szilagyi (1963) e, per le fonti papiracee, Drexhage (1991).

³¹ Il graffito 10606 recita: *exempta stecora A XI* senza specificare il soggetto preposto e, come intenzionalità, essa va accostata a quella che proponiamo come seguente *CIL* 6877: *operariis pane denarium*. Si tratta di messaggi pubblicitari (il primo non si trova in una latrina, ma in un peristilio, dove può essere visto da chiunque passi), volti a rimarcare un'offerta di fronte a un pubblico. Cfr. anche i casi dei donativi in *CIL* XIV 119 *dedit pan(em) vin(um) X I n(ummos)* e *CIL* XIV 8: *viritim dedit X I*, casi grammaticalmente simili, dove a ogni singolo destinatario si offre la somma indicata.

potevano comprarsi appena un piatto di selvaggina e, se prendevano anche il pane, non avrebbero poi potuto comprarsi da bere. Se poi lavorano in squadra e prendono solo una frazione di quella somma, a meno di non avere altre entrate giornaliere, qualsiasi pietanza calda della cena diventa proibitiva per loro. Le prostitute, fino a 5 prestazioni al giorno, devono considerarsi nelle stesse condizioni. Nessuno di questi lavoratori potrebbe accedere, in nessun caso, a una cena completa, considerati i prezzi di questa *taberna*. Se poi nei primi due casi si tiene in conto che il salario è diviso tra più persone, allora l'operaio è allo stesso livello della prostituta, se non peggiore: gli servirebbero più giorni di lavoro per solo un piatto di quella cena.

L'unico modo in cui anche l'operaio o la prostituta avrebbero potuto accedere alla cena era quello di risparmiare qualche asse ogni giorno. Con una media, si è visto già assai generosa, di 11-16 assi al giorno, il guadagno mensile avrebbe oscillato dai 330 ai 480 assi; risparmiando 1 asse e $\frac{1}{2}$ al giorno, l'operaio avrebbe avuto una riserva di 45 assi; con questa, solo una volta al mese l'operaio avrebbe potuto godersi la sua cena da 39 assi, con l'avanzo di 6 assi.

Questo facile conto ci consente di comprendere più nel dettaglio la qualità di vita di un pompeiano libero, che lavora come dipendente a mercede, qualora viva solo del suo lavoro. Non possiamo affermare nulla sulla quantità di persone che vivevano in tal modo, in quanto ci mancano i dati per farlo. È inoltre possibile che alcuni svolgessero più lavori, oppure che in parte percepissero delle rendite, che vivessero anche di *sportulae*, o condividessero le spese e le entrate con altre persone. E, ovviamente, gli schiavi hanno un tenore di vita del tutto dipendente da ciò che i padroni concedono loro. In tutti questi casi, la loro condizione sarebbe stata diversa, probabilmente migliore.

Un particolare problema lo suscita connettere questi risultati con ciò che sappiamo riguardo l'affitto. *CIL* III 14114 (Pannonia) ci presenta la *Pauperis cena. Pane. Vinu(m). Radic(a)*. Per comprare 1 *libra* di pane, mezzo litro di vino e un po' d'insalata, ai prezzi che abbiamo visto per Pompei sarebbero bastati forse 5-6 assi (1HS e $\frac{1}{2}$).

Sopravvivendo solo con questa cifra giornaliera, un *operarius* che prende 11-16 assi al giorno avrebbe risparmiato ogni giorno ca. 1 HS e $\frac{1}{2}$, che fanno ca. 500 HS annui, solo però a patto di non dormire in una cella di un'*insula*, perché l'affitto avrebbe senz'altro ecceduto il suo reddito. Svetonio (*div. Iul.* 38.2) lascia intendere che, a Roma e durante la dittatura di Cesare, esistevano affitti da 5 HS al giorno, ma che in Italia

ve ne erano anche da 1 HS al giorno³². Il *sextertius* repubblicano è d'argento e pesa ca. 0.9 gr, mentre quello augusteo è di oricalco e ovviamente ha un peso diverso. Ciò nonostante, vale ancora $\frac{1}{4}$ di *denarius* per cui, se il peso di quest'ultimo non cambia molto tra le due epoche³³, in termini di potere di acquisto la somma di 1 HS dovrebbe essere equivalente, pur valendo il metallo del sesterzio assai di meno.

Con 6 assi di risparmio al giorno, potrebbe assai a stento pagare il sesterzio, che Svetonio indica come minimo per il fitto; d'altra parte con quella somma, se fosse in grado di pagare un pernottamento di qualsiasi tipo, creerebbe la difficoltà per cui una notte in *cella* costerebbe $\frac{1}{3}$ di 3 costolette (un piatto di *offellas* è dato a 12 assi), il che è francamente improponibile. Dobbiamo pertanto pensare a una cifra di pernottamento alquanto più alta. Ad ogni modo, si poteva dividere in più di una persona la stessa *cella*, nel qual caso la cifra, pur con delle ricadute sul risparmio giornaliero, diveniva abbordabile. Se le *cellae* erano come quelle che si possono ancora vedere ad Ostia o a Pompei, ben difficilmente si poteva dividere in più di due persone. Marziale, che è testimone della qualità di vita di questo tipo di abitazione, si lamenta della piccolezza delle *cellae* (1.86) in cui è costretto a vivere ed esprime qualche lamentela, quando è costretto a dividere il letto (8.67) — pare lo faccia, per altro, per motivi più di prostituzione, che non di riposo.

Se però chi guadagna sui 3 HS giornalieri può solo con qualche disagio permettersi di dormire nella *cella* di un'*insula* urbana, che alternative ha per passare la notte?

³² Qualsiasi stima dell'affitto in una *cella* dell'impero romano può essere solo ipotetica, dato che non possediamo a riguardo alcuna disposizione, né alcuna evidenza diretta. Nemmeno nei papiri egiziani ne abbiamo notizia, trattandosi, in quei pochi casi, soltanto di affitti di unità abitative complesse (*P. Oxy.* III 502; IV 911, 912; VII 1036, 1037, 1038; VIII 1127, 1128, 1129; XLVIII 3384, 3386). Gli unici esempi utili potrebbero essere *P. Oxy.* LXVIII 4681 (ma la somma non si legge) e 4693, che però sono entrambi molto tardi (419 e 466 d.C.). Piuttosto, Cicerone (*Att.* 16.1.5) afferma che un'*insula* può fruttare 80.000 HS all'anno. Sappiamo che Augusto aveva limitato a 7 il massimo numero di piani in un'*insula* (Strab. 5.3.7), sicché potremmo supporre che a Roma, al tempo di Cicerone, potessero esserci in un'*insula* mediamente 8 piani. Cfr. Storey (2003) 3-26, il quale crede comunque che 8 piani siano una cifra massima. Alcuni studi mostrano che i piani alti erano in particolare dedicati alle *cellae*, con un numero medio di 5-10 per piano. Ad esempio, l'*insula* di Via Giulio Romano ad Ostia, studiata da Packer (1968/69) 127-148, part. 140, a partire dal terzo piano possedeva 9-10 *cellae*. Se potessimo ipotizzare, sulla base di Cicerone, una cifra di 10.000 HS per piano, una *cella* costerebbe all'inquilino 1.000 HS all'anno, ovvero 2-3 HS al giorno.

³³ Crawford (1974) 594-595; Mattingly e.a. (1948) 25-27.

Una soluzione la troviamo in Tacito (*Hist.* 1.86), il quale racconta che, durante un'inondazione del Tevere (siamo nell'anno 68 d.C.), *rapti e publico plerique, plures in tabernis et cubilibus intercepti*. Si può dormire in *cubilibus*, ma anche in *tabernis*, ovvero nello stesso luogo dove si mangia. Un'iscrizione ritrovata a Isernia (*CIL* IX 2689 = *ILS* 7478 = *AE* 2005, 433) riporta il conto di una *taberna* dal punto di vista di un avventore. Anche se si è dimostrato che la situazione rappresentata è fittizia, ciò nonostante il conteggio doveva sembrare realistico ai suoi lettori³⁴. Il proprietario si vanta dei suoi buoni prezzi, facendo rappresentare una divertente scenetta sulla sua ipotetica tomba (*Eroticus* e *Voluptas* sono senz'altro nomi fittizi). Un avventore, giunto in groppa al suo mulo, usufruisce della *taberna* ed è così soddisfatto del prezzo che esclama: *Copo, computemus. Habes Vini S(extarius) I, pane a. I, pulmentar(ium) a. II. Convenit puell(a) a. VIII. Et hoc convenit. Faenum mulo a. II. Iste mulus me ad factum dabit.*

L'avventore magnifica persino il conveniente aspetto erotico della permanenza; ma, in definitiva, il cliente dove ha dormito? Il prezzo del pernottamento potrebbe essere incluso in quello relativo alla puella fornita dall'oste. Il prezzo di 8 assi è abbastanza alto da contenere sia quello della prestazione, che quello di una permanenza. Ma, contando pure un 2-4 assi per la ragazza, con i rimanenti 4-6 assi l'avventore avrebbe dormito, pagando per questo una cifra pari alla modesta cena proposta, o appena di più (la cena in totale costerebbe 5 assi + 1 (per il mulo), se il *sextarius* di vino costasse 2 assi). Bisogna aggiungere che il senso del dormire in *taberna*, potrebbe essere inteso come utilizzo di un giaciglio comune con altri ospiti, più o meno come avviene ad Encolpio ed Eumolpio in Petronio (*Sat.* 95), che si dividono la stanza con un'altra coppia di ospiti. Questo rende il prezzo della permanenza senz'altro più basso di quello di una *cella* singola.

Possiamo comunque affermare che il cliente di Isernia ha mangiato e passato la notte, senza però contare il pernottamento del mulo, spendendo in totale 12 assi, ovvero 3 HS. Se fosse un *operarius* come quello di Ercolano, purché non abbia lavorato in squadra, dalla sua giornata di lavoro gli avanzerebbe ancora 1 HS. Anzi qualcosa in più, perché l'*operarius* di Ercolano il pane non è costretto a comprarlo alla *taberna*: l'ha già preso a lavoro.

³⁴ L'interpretazione che della iscrizione ha recentemente fornito Bannert (2005) 203-213 non inficia la validità dei dati solo per il fatto che essa risulta appartenere a un contesto comico e fittizio.

Il Gaio Giunio dell'iscrizione *CIL* IV 4422, paga il suo vitto con ca. 14 assi., l'anonimo abitante di *CIL* IV 8566 consuma con 8-9 assi, quello di *CIL* IV 4888 (ins. 2 Regio VIII aed. 30) mangia con 10 assi, più pane e legna (di cui non si legge bene il prezzo).

Gli abitanti delle *cellae* a Pompei sono evidentemente già abbastanza in sostanza, perché consumano, oltre al pane, talvolta anche della carne, possono cucinare a loro spese i cibi che mangiano (la legna non serve solo a scaldarsi), comprano qualche condimento e, infine, consumano più di 1 *sextarius* di vino. Se un *operarius* tenesse questo tenore di consumo, aggiungendoci qualcosa per l'alloggio, non potrebbe risparmiare alcunché e forse avrebbe anche problemi di debito.

Supponiamo però che si possa vivere con 1 *sextarius* di vino al giorno, 1 asse di pane (quale che sia il peso che sia possibile comprare per quella cifra), 2 assi di *pulmentarium*, o di insalata (*colica*, o *radica*): più o meno come indicato in *CIL* III 14114 a proposito della *pauperis cena*. Comprati a Pompei, farebbero ca. 5 assi al giorno; se si guadagnano 16 assi, ne avanzerebbero 11. Supponiamo che si dorma, *in cella* o *in taberna*, per altri 5 assi. È un prezzo ragionevole, se il pernottamento ad Isernia, comprensivo però di *puella*, ne costava 8. Avanzerebbero ogni giorno 6 assi, ovvero 1 HS e ½.

IL RISPARMIO

Un risparmio giornaliero sia pure solo di 1 HS e ½ al giorno, ammesso che si possa verificare per chi vive di solo lavoro, può implicare dei risvolti molto incisivi.

Nel giro di nove anni, si maturerebbe ad esempio una cifra di ca. 4.640 HS³⁵. Con questa cifra, secondo Columella (3.3.8) è possibile comprare uno iugero di terra, che costa 1.000 HS³⁶.

Non è ovviamente detto che i dati di Columella, come anche quelli di Varrone, siano applicabili immediatamente alla Pompei loro contemporanea

³⁵ Un lavoratore a cottimo di Mactar, che aveva però acquisito, nell'ultimo periodo, lo stato di *ductor* della sua squadra di lavoro (*CIL* VIII 11824 = *ILS* 747) può comprarsi la sua proprietà terriera (non sappiamo quanto grande) in 11 anni. Cfr. Desideri (1987) 137-149; Ruprechtsberger (2008); Pikhaus (1987) 81-94.

³⁶ Proprio sulle cifre di questo passo di Columella (3.3.8), Étienne (1980) 121-128 dimostra l'attendibilità delle cifre, contestando i dubbi sollevati a suo tempo da Duncan-Jones (1974) 33-59. Su questa linea rivalutante anche Carandini (1983) 172-204.

(I sec. a.C. – I d.C.). E tuttavia, al loro tempo questi autori erano ritenuti un'autorità sui temi che riguardano la conduzione agraria, perciò è almeno possibile che, attraverso i loro scritti, giungano fino a noi idee che dovevano influenzare l'opinione dei più avvertiti su tali questioni. Le considerazioni che seguono devono essere intese come un confronto con la mentalità di chi, da contemporaneo e sulla base della situazione concreta che si è descritta, poteva ispirarsi a quelle idee, condivise nell'ambiente culturale coevo, per fare dei conti di massima sulla sua possibilità o meno di tentare l'impresa di trasformarsi, negli anni, in proprietario e, quindi, riuscire a migliorare la propria condizione per via prevalentemente economica. Del resto, né Varrone né Columella, oltre ad essere il loro stesso sapere discusso, maturato e condiviso socialmente, scrivono per loro stessi, ma si rivolgono a un pubblico di proprietari come loro, le cui proprietà non sono tutte a Roma, ma si devono immaginare almeno sparse per l'Italia. Il loro sguardo, pertanto, non dovrebbe essere considerato troppo circoscritto.

Avanziamo pertanto il seguente ragionamento, incrociando i dati già ottenuti con i risultati della migliore scienza agraria accessibile a chi era contemporaneo. Per loro come per noi, tali conteggi dovevano servire soltanto da linea di massima, ma ugualmente sono capaci di dimostrare se, con un certo risparmio giornaliero, si poteva (o no) almeno pensare di potersi emancipare, in prospettiva, come piccoli produttori agricoli.

Su uno iugero coltivato a vigna, secondo Columella si può trarre in vino almeno 1 *culleus* (= 20 *amphorae* = 40 *urnae* = 1040 *sextarii* = 520 litri)³⁷. Quaranta *urnae* (ovvero 1 *culleus*) si vendono, secondo

³⁷ Varr. *RR* 1.3.12 (10-15 *cullei*); ma lo stesso Varrone, a 3.22.4, sembra ammettere che anche 8 *cullei* è troppo. Columella, in questo, cita e ridimensiona le stime di Varrone. Il passaggio è molto dibattuto dai moderni. Alcuni sostengono che qualsiasi numero fornito da Columella e, più in generale, dagli agronomi antichi, sia inaffidabile. Questa scuola di pensiero, inaugurata da Finley (1973) 198 n. 7, (1976) 3 è poi seguita da Evans (1980) 19-47, part. 30-31; de Neeve (1984) 79, 215-217, (1985) 77-109. Altri sono più ottimisti sull'impiego delle cifre, sia pur con qualche cautela: Yeo (1952) 462-464, 475-477; Duncan-Jones (1974) 39-50, part. 40 n. 5 (nonostante le riserve a p. 47); id. (1976) 7-24, part. 11; Brunt (1971) 337. Tutte queste cifre di prezzi, che si ripropongono in questa sede, insieme a quelle già proposte in precedenza, vanno ovviamente considerate più come ordini di grandezza che come cifre precise. Non solo non danno conto di alcuna fluttuazione nel tempo e nello spazio, ma incorrono tutte, con qualche eccezione, nei multipli di 3, 4 e 10 segnalati da Scheidel (1996) 222-238 come non affidabili. Si potrebbe osservare, tuttavia, che anche se abbiamo soltanto una linea guida, da questa è comunque almeno possibile farsi un'idea degli stili di vita, o di alcuni comportamenti economici. Il reale ostacolo che gli studiosi incontrano riguarda la possibilità di ottenere un «costo medio», da cui originare un modello in scala del contesto economico, utile in un lasso di tempo e su uno spazio più o meno largo. In questo caso, è molto difficile ritenere

Columella, almeno a 300HS (*nummis quadragenae urnae veneant*); perciò il vignaiolo ricaverebbe circa 1 *assis* ogni *sextarius* che vende. Questo prezzo del vino per il produttore è coerente con i prezzi più alti che abbiamo per via epigrafica, se si considerano i costi aggiuntivi di transazione, che intercorrono dal produttore al consumatore³⁸. Bisogna inoltre tener presente che, per Columella, questo è il *minimum pretium*.

Di norma, 1 iugero di vigna fornisce più di 1 *culleus* di vino. Columella ritiene che 5 *cullei* per iugero siano un buon risultato, mentre con meno di 3 *cullei* non si giustifica l'attività produttiva. Con 5 *cullei* all'anno, il produttore ricaverebbe ca. 1.500 HS. Per un contadino di Pompei, 4 HS al giorno, senza incorrere in spese di alloggio, sulla base di quanto già detto, sarebbe un buon sostentamento.

Inoltre, il contadino non lavora tutto l'anno. Varrone (1.28) divide i lavori dei campi in otto periodi e di ognuno fornisce le mansioni. Di queste, solo alcune sono proprie di chi ha soltanto una vigna. Sempre secondo Varrone, per arare uno iugero senza disporre di buoi servono 4-5 giorni (1.18.2).

Scavo e affioramento dei filari, 45 giorni. Zappare, arare, affinare i vitigni e irrigare, 48 giorni. Raccogliere l'uva, 32 giorni, potare 57 giorni. Il totale fa 182 giorni ed è in eccesso, perché non calcolato per chi possiede solo 1 iugero. Ad ogni modo, rimarrebbero, anche in questo caso, 183 giorni liberi, in cui il contadino potrebbe coltivare a cottimo la terra di un vicino, o lavorare presso il centro come *operarius*.

Possiamo ancora ritenere che, per un guadagno annuale di 1.600 HS, non valga la pena di aspettare 10 anni di risparmi; inoltre, una volta comprata la terra, l'investimento sarebbe produttivo solo a patto di raddoppiare i ricavi, ovvero possedere 2 iugeri³⁹. Ottenerli e attrezzarli

le notizie di Columella affidabili. Ma ciò potrebbe diventare più facile se relazioniamo queste cifre soltanto a quello che Columella ha in mente, come prezzi e costi di massima, nel momento preciso in cui scrive; egli intende ragguagliare su ciò che può essere utile a lui e ai suoi lettori, nel luogo dove si trovano sia lui che loro.

³⁸ CIL IV 1679: *Hedone dicit: assibus (sigulis) hic bibitur; dipondium si dederis meliora bibes; quartos si dederis vina Falerna bib(es)*. La misura sottintesa è il *sextarius* perché altre iscrizioni lo prevedono, come CIL IV 8230: *dabit vini (sextarios duos)*, e l'insegna ercolanense (Insula VI, aed. 14) presso la Casa del Salone Nero detta *taberna Ad cucumas*, che sotto la scritta riporta i prezzi dei vini: *AD CUCUMAS / A. IIIIS / IIIS / IIIIS / IIS*. Sopra ogni scritta, una brocca: se il carattere *A* sta per assi, il carattere *S* sta per *sextarius*. Cfr. Pagano (1988) 209-214. La stessa *taberna* ad Isernia prevede il *sextarius* come misura base di distribuzione. Cfr. Duncan-Jones (1982²) 46 n. 3.

³⁹ Brunt (1971) 337 n. 1 ritiene impossibile per un contadino vivere con meno di 5 iugera e 1/2; la sua osservazione tuttavia si basa solo sulle derrate granarie, il dato è meno

richiede, secondo la stima di Columella, 9.280 HS. Questa somma è molto difficile ottenerla lavorando con un risparmio giornaliero, come quello da noi stimato, di 1 HS e $\frac{1}{2}$ al giorno. E tuttavia, sulla base di questi dati, si dimostra che non sarebbe del tutto impossibile.

Questo risultato non è una media, nemmeno limitata all'Italia altoimperiale. Tutti questi conteggi e connessioni che abbiamo tentato di avanzare devono essere intesi soltanto come una guida d'approccio. Ognuno di questi parametri (salari, prezzi, costi, tempi di lavoro) può oscillare non solo per cause temporali, ma anche per logiche di mercato e limiti imposti da chi governa (tasse, calmieri, svalutazione). Inoltre, bisogna tenere in conto eventuali carestie, epidemie, guerre e sfruttamento sociale.

Nonostante ciò, questi numeri (i passaggi degli agronomi, ma anche i graffiti) hanno una relazione tra chi li scrive e il suo pubblico. L'autore rende nota al lettore una situazione credibile nel suo presente. Al momento della pubblicazione, se non già prima, gli scritti di Varrone e Columella avranno circolato nei circoli delle loro amicizie. Sarebbe davvero improbabile che gli amici cavalieri e senatori di questi autori non fossero avvezzi alle tematiche che gli scrittori trattavano e non fossero in grado di confrontare quello che leggevano con la loro esperienza, dato che erano spesso proprietari anch'essi (e non per forza a Roma). Analogamente, chi tracciava il graffito era soggetto al controllo di chi lo leggeva, anzi egli scrive proprio per sottoporsi a tale controllo.

Pertanto, nonostante dovremmo aspettarci fluttuazioni e scarti, queste cifre possono considerarsi fondate e aiutarci a ricostruire alcuni aspetti delle condizioni di vita, in quanto chi era in grado di comprenderle, su quella base, poteva farsi dei conti.

Dobbiamo ovviamente, insieme con questo, tenere presente che, durante la vita di un *operarius*, o di un affittuario in una *cella*, o di un contadino sul suo iugero di terra, una volta stabilito che il criterio di fondo era sostenibile, si potevano poi presentare diversi fattori di

utile per le colture intensive, Cfr. Gabba (1979) 13-73, part. 55-63; Crawford (1976) 197-207; Capogrossi Colognesi (1985) 77-99. Non si discute in questa sede la capacità di sussistenza; intendiamo riferirci soltanto alla capacità commerciale del contadino, sulla base di ciò che possiamo aspettarci sulla base della letteratura antica sull'argomento. Ci limitiamo a citare alcuni lavori: Horden & Purcell (2000) 271; Rathbone (1981) 10-23. Per Pompeii, Jongman (1988) 152-153 osserva che per nutrire una coppia di buoi servono 10-12 ettari di fieno, quantità che supera già quella a disposizione di chi possiede solo 2-5 iugeri (1 ettaro = 5 *iugera*).

perturbazione che avrebbero potuto sconvolgere i suoi piani, o investendolo di una particolare e rapida ascesa, o mandandolo in fallimento.

CONCLUSIONI

Il nostro studio ha dunque fatto emergere due aspetti. Il primo riguarda le condizioni di vita e l'organizzazione del personale addetto alla consegna dei generi alimentari. Questo comportamento sociale è connesso con il controllo degli individui, anche all'interno delle loro case. La condivisione pubblica dei graffiti che riguardano il consumo privato contribuisce a far uscire l'individuo dall'anonimato. Abbiamo inoltre isolato ulteriori tipologie di graffiti che potrebbero avere una funzione identificativa.

In secondo luogo abbiamo illustrato, con un confronto ulteriore tra liste di prezzi e salari, in parte provenienti dallo stesso ambiente, in parte dalla tradizione letteraria più o meno coeva, alcuni aspetti di vita quotidiana a disposizione della classe libera, ma ancora mancante di rendita. Abbiamo cercato di illustrare entro quali margini poteva il lavoratore libero di Pompei procurarsi da vivere e insieme risparmiare, fino al punto da poter nutrire la speranza, se non il progetto, di acquistare, ad esempio, uno o due iugeri di terreno, per trasformarsi in piccolo proprietario. In questo ambito, le note di Columella e Varrone non sono forse utilizzabili come dati direttamente applicabili al contesto pompeiano, ma come ricostruzioni teoriche ritenute generalmente valide dai contemporanei. Se applicarle a Pompei genera qualche resistenza a noi, ciò doveva valere anche per i proprietari campani del I d.C. e, tuttavia, questo non doveva trattenerli dal fare dei conti con quelle stime e, su quelle o su stime simili a quelle, basare le loro aspirazioni al successo.

Nel corso dello studio si sono utilizzati dei dati epigrafici, la maggior parte dei quali riguardano situazioni specifiche, localizzate in modo preciso. La connessione tra questi dati in una sintesi organica, è ovviamente una scelta, che l'osservatore compie in base alla presunzione di ritenere le informazioni compatibili con un periodo simile e un ambiente geografico non troppo distante, per lo meno nell'immagine che è lecito farsi di esso sulla base di quello che si conosce. In un contesto di ricerca siffatto, oscillazioni, correzioni, persino contraddizioni sono sempre possibili. E tuttavia, il metodo di incrociare i pochi dati quantitativi che ci vengono forniti non è del tutto inutile. Se cercassimo una soluzione esatta al quesito su quanto costa la spesa quotidiana a Pompei prima

dell'eruzione, non troveremmo mai una certezza. Ma non è esattamente questo il quesito che si voleva rivolgere ai dati presentati in questa sede. Si voleva, piuttosto, costruire un'immagine orientativa del rapporto tra spese quotidiane e persone, dello stile di vita in relazione alle incombenze economiche individuali e in una ipotetica prospettiva di risparmio. Quanto poi all'utilità di una tale immagine rispetto a una più generale ricostruzione storica, essa può essere messa in dubbio fintantoché l'obiettivo fosse mettere in luce i meccanismi della macroeconomia antica. Il ceto umile, quello libero quanto quello giuridicamente asservito, non era certo in condizione tale da influire su tali meccanismi, o almeno, non poteva influire per via economica. Pertanto, non può destare meraviglia che non si riscontri rispondenza con le dinamiche più generali quali, ad esempio, la circolazione monetaria — davvero infima — o la compravendita di immobili. Persino il consumo alimentare doveva essere, a livello statistico, in definitiva talmente ridotto da influire in modo trascurabile sul quadro generale.

E tuttavia, non possiamo ignorare che Publio Giunio e i suoi pochi assi di pane e vino non siano esistiti ed evitare di dire qualcosa su di lui. Sempre trattandosi di lui e di quelli come lui, la stessa funzione dei graffiti privati assume un ruolo funzionale diverso a seconda che li si intenda come scritti dal diretto interessato, piuttosto che da altre persone. Tra le due ipotesi, abbiamo descritto come, nello specifico che riguarda le liste della spesa, la seconda sembri più coerente e spiega più contesti. Ciò basta ad escludere ipotesi diverse?

Questa domanda ha una sua legittimità metodologica. I comportamenti umani hanno una motivazione intrinseca e i graffiti, come si è detto, sono immediatamente correlati a tale motivazione, perché presumono una mano umana che li traccia. Se ci poniamo solo dal punto di vista della mano che traccia il graffito, non c'è alcun modo di discriminare se il comportamento scrittorio sia espressione di una volontà arbitraria, o abbia una motivazione estrinseca (in questo caso, ad esempio, quella di controllare il comportamento di un'altra persona rispetto allo scrivente). E tuttavia, la mano non scrive in un contesto neutro. Il luogo dove essa traccia il graffito costituisce un ambiente rilevante al fine di comprendere il comportamento scrittorio. Gli oggetti da cui la persona è circondato, influiscono sul suo comportamento e favoriscono una reazione ad esso. Per comprendere il comportamento scrittorio, quindi, in primo luogo è necessario interrogarsi non solo su cosa viene scritto, ma anche metterlo in relazione a *dove* esso viene scritto. Dopodiché, i due momenti (il

contenuto e il luogo) devono essere connessi con un'intenzione volontaria. Questo passaggio è assai delicato, perché l'intenzione umana può essere motivata anche da impulsi irrazionali, che a loro volta possono riguardare alcune pratiche sociali. Del modo in cui la scritta si presenta nel suo luogo di collocamento — nel *cubiculum* privato, in un peristilio, ripetuta in un numero limitato di volte, talvolta in riferimento a persone diverse, senza «totali» a sottrazione, che facciano pensare a un conto personale — abbiamo già detto. Ma anche i contenuti della scritta possono essere sufficienti a discriminare questo aspetto. Nel nostro caso specifico il contenuto, ovvero la lista della spesa, non è riconducibile a moventi emotivi spontanei, perché intende razionalizzare un aspetto di concreta utilità. Inoltre, la scritta è nominale, ovvero relaziona un nome proprio con un conto della spesa. Si esclude, quindi, anche l'ipotesi della scrittura spontanea: il soggetto relaziona nome e conto e ciò implica che non sta scrivendo solo per se stesso, ma vuole segnalare anche a qualcuno che ha effettuato la tale spesa. Questo qualcuno può essere il soggetto stesso espresso dal nome, a patto però che a scrivere sia qualcun altro e non lui; altrimenti, si tratta del soggetto, che scrive il proprio nome, ma a vantaggio di un lettore, interessato a quella precisa comunicazione. La comunicazione su argomento concreto (nome e lista di viveri), infatti, esclude il movente espressivo di natura emozionale. Si tratta di una comunicazione di servizio, a vantaggio o di qualcuno con cui si dividono le spese, o di qualcuno che ha l'incarico di controllarle.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

VERTICAL INTEGRATION AGAIN ANOTHER REPLY TO MORRIS SILVER

In a recent notice, Silver readdressed an interesting feature of the Roman economy, viz. vertical integration, a topic previously discussed by Silver and myself.¹ In his first contribution, Silver rightly introduced the concepts of vertical integration and disintegration to the Roman economy, to better understand the structure and development of business firms in antiquity. In my reply, I adduced additional evidence from a variety of economic sectors to show that vertical integration was a standard strategy for Roman businessmen, far more widely used than Silver assumed. I tried to highlight the different organizational features of firms introducing this technique and the many benefits integration had to offer, in particular for large family firms. Silver's recent reply argued that I was wrong in leaving out a detailed discussion of disintegration and concludes that my model of the Roman economy therefore completely differs from his own. In this short reply, I wish to stress that, first, it was never my intention to refute his model, and, second, that more research is necessary to confirm the applicability of Silver's model of industry life cycles to ancient economies.

First, Silver is absolutely correct in stating that I had better included disintegration in my contribution as well. His first paper introduced industry life cycles, in which integration is (necessarily, it seems) followed by disintegration, when the efficiency benefits of integration start to decrease. However, the aim of my paper was not to reaffirm all stages of his model, but merely to provide additional evidence for the first stage (integration). This omission convinces Silver that I therefore reject his life cycle model and do not believe disintegration ever occurred in the Roman economy.² Neither of these claims were made in my contribution nor can be inferred from my line of argument. I gladly accept that disintegration was implemented by Roman family firms, but so far, the evidence remains fairly limited.

¹ Silver (2013), returning to the previous articles by Silver (2009) and Broekaert (2012a).

² Silver (2013), 311.

Second, if the life cycle model really is the standard mode of development for Roman firms, which Silver's contributions seem to suggest, I would welcome more extensive and detailed evidence. The sector offering the most detailed and convincing information of vertical integration is, to my knowledge, the oil business (virtually ignored by Silver). The combined data from stamps and *tituli picti* allow to follow the development of large family firms during several generations and decades. If disintegration really must be considered a frequently occurring stage in the lifecycle of Roman firms, the oil business might be the right place to look for its existence. To my knowledge (but I am looking forward to Silver's approach to these sources), the available evidence is extremely scarce. One could argue that this is perhaps the consequence of the nature of our evidence, which is better suited to identify integration than disintegration. Perhaps. One could also argue that one feature of vertical integration in the Roman economy, the costs of combining all stages, is perhaps more difficult to compare to other pre-industrial economies or even contemporary society, from which the lifecycle model stems. Silver's argument deserves to be quoted at length here:

It [the vertically integrated firm] is efficient because it has economized on information transmission cost but the other side of the coin is that "doing it all yourself" has raised production cost. Next, after a longer or shorter period, knowledge of the profitable new opportunity penetrates to the grassroots of the specialized producers. Because their production costs are lower the latter take over the production of up- and downstream products and services. The vertically integrated firm has become inefficient and it is supplanted by numbers of efficient vertically disintegrated firms.³

In my view, these production costs limiting the applicability of vertical integration, were in Roman business severely reduced due to the reliance on a dependent and semi-dependent labor force, viz. slaves and freedmen.⁴ For the oil business, we can trace several family firms training slaves to specialize in e.g. amphora production (which can be deduced from the phrasing of stamps) and continuing cooperation after manumission with the most reliable freedmen with an aptitude for business for e.g. organizing maritime transport of oil amphorae (which becomes apparent from the *tituli picti*).⁵ By relying on the information, experience and skills accumulated

³ Silver (2013), 309-310 for the quote.

⁴ See Broekaert (forthcoming a) for a more extensive treatment.

⁵ Stamps: Berni Millet (2008). *Tituli picti*: Broekaert (2012b and forthcoming a).

within the extended family, Roman entrepreneurs were able to save on exactly these production costs. Creating and maintaining a vertically integrated firm in the Roman economy appears to have been less costly than in non-slave societies. Furthermore, I find it difficult to believe that Silver's specialized producers and their lower production costs would have been able to compete with these large fully integrated family firms. To continue with the oil business, who are these specialized producers breaking up the large family firms? The available evidence so far suggests that an integrated firm was and remained the dominant mode of business for all major oil merchant families from the 1st c. AD onwards.⁶

Finally, it should be stressed that over the past few decades, ancient economic historians (myself included) have benefitted a lot from contributions in which comparative evidence and findings from contemporary economics are applied to the Roman economy. These models provide the necessary explanatory power to the scanty and isolated nature of our evidence and facilitate our understanding of how ancient economies could actually have worked. However, I question whether these models also have compelling predictive power. If the available data suggest that some economic development which is well-documented for other historical periods does not occur in the Roman economy, I believe it is far more interesting to explain the differences than to force the evidence into a framework which might perhaps not fit.

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⁶ See Broekaert (forthcoming b) for the available data.

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VERTICAL DISINTEGRATION AGAIN
ANOTHER REPLY TO WIM BROEKAERT

Broekaert (B) says it was not his intention to provide a “detailed discussion of disintegration but instead to show that vertical integration was “far more widely used than Silver assumed.”⁷ In fact, B did not mention disintegration at all and I made no assumption about how widely vertical integration was used. My observation that it is difficult to find examples is fully confirmed by B’s struggle to provide them.⁸

B says “more research is necessary to confirm the applicability of Silver’s model of industry life cycles to ancient economies.” I have been doing this with an analysis of Pompeii’s fish sauce industry and studies of vertical integration/disintegration in central Italy’s wine industry.⁹ Another article about the oil business in Solon’s Greece concludes that vertically integrated plantations producing and marketing olive oil displaced small grain-growing farmers and then were themselves displaced by vertically disintegrated small farmers producing olive oil for sale to merchants.¹⁰

Slavery is relevant but not in the way B imagines. Given the newness of the export markets for central Italian wine and hence for the requisite productive skills, free workers hesitated to make the needed investments in human capital and/or lenders hesitated to advance them loans for training. The vertically integrated wine-producing firms were unwilling to invest to provide free wage workers (or tenants) with marketable skills (“general training”) because the latter could later sell their embodied skills to the highest bidder. Employers were willing to bear the cost of importing and maintaining appropriately skilled foreign slaves and/or to bear the cost of training slaves precisely because, as slaves, they could not quit.

B does “gladly accept that disintegration was implemented by Roman family firms, but so far the evidence is limited.” Disintegration is as

⁷ All quotations of B are from Broekaert (2014).

⁸ Quoting footnote 3 in Silver (2013a): “Broekaert is perhaps not aware of the extent to which he has “squeezed” many of his new examples of vertical integration. This process is signaled by the use of the following expressions: “most likely” (111, 113); “probably” (111, 113, 114); “safely assume” (112, 117); “seems likely” (112); “no doubt” (112, 115); “apparently” (112, 114 (2x), 116, 118); “it seems probable” (113); “attractive to think” (114); “seems feasible” (114); “very tempting” (116); “it is possible (117, 120).”

⁹ Silver (2013a), 311-12; Silver (2006); Silver (2013b).

¹⁰ Silver (2009).

common as the air inhaled by ancient Romans and by contemporary Roman historians and, hence, it may become invisible to non-specialists. Farmers buy plows, knives and oil-crushers instead of producing them and sell their crop to merchants instead of marketing it themselves. Retail merchants sell ready-made tunics, wine, olive oil and fish-sauce but do not produce cloth or tend vines, groves and smelly vats. Potters do not construct their own kilns. Bakers sell bread to contractors and do not grow wheat and butchers sell meat to consumers but not from their own herds. Vertical disintegration is a business norm.

B is “looking forward” to my dealing with the sources for the Roman oil business. Unfortunately, my research plate is too full and my table too short. However, no one is better equipped or more motivated to test my model of vertical integration/disintegration against Roman evidence than B.

B doubts whether economic models have predictive power for ancient economies but he does not disclose which models he has in mind. The supply and demand model, the most powerful one in the economist’s arsenal, does rather well in predicting behavior in ancient economies. Indeed, the ancients themselves, never having read Moses Finley, found this kind of model useful.¹¹ There is space here for one example illustrating both the applicability of economic models and vertical disintegration. In recommending terms for leasing the harvesting of olives to independent contractors, Cato (*Agriculture* 144.4-5) recommends: “No one shall form a combination for the purpose of raising the contract price for harvesting and milling olives, unless he names his associate at the time; in case of a violation of this rule, if the owner or his representative wish, all the associates shall take an oath, and if anyone refuses so to swear, no one will pay or be liable to pay for the gathering or milling of the olives to one who has not so sworn” (LCL). The distinctive ancient feature is neither cartel agreements nor vertical disintegration but the enlistment of gods to enforce contracts.

¹¹ A few examples should suffice. Relevance of labor costs: Columella (*Agriculture* 2.2.12; marginal analysis, diminishing returns, sunk costs are sunk: Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 18.38); changes in supply and grain prices: Livy (*History* 30.26-5-6), Sallust (*History* 2.47), Cicero (2 *Verres* 3.214-15, 227); increased demand and land prices Pliny the Younger (*Letters* 6.19.5-6); increased supply and slave prices: Josephus (*Jewish Wars* 6.384); monopolization and trade: Procopius (*History of the Wars* 2.10-11); effects of price controls: Libanius (*Orations* 1.126), Ammianus Marcellinus (*History* 22.14.1).

There is of course the real danger that economists venturing into the field of ancient economies will become impatient and impose their models on recalcitrant evidence. Another (not less real) danger to good science is that ancient historians will react resentfully against a handful of ancient economists as invaders of their turf.

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